

Our Only 'Crime' Is Loyalty To Working Class

An Editorial

The Post Office authorities have refused to permit the Nov. 7 and 14 issues of THE MILITANT to go through the mails.

They made this arbitrary decision without any notice or explanation of their action to THE MILITANT office. The business office had no knowledge of the interference with the delivery of these issues until letters and telegrams began to pour in from many cities complaining about the failure to receive the above-mentioned issues of THE MILITANT.

Only after our direct inquiry were we informed that the paper had been withheld from the mails. Even then we were given no official reason, but were told that we must apply to the Washington authorities for an explanation.

Whatever technicalities or alibis the authorities may offer, it is clear that the suppression of these two issues of THE MILITANT is a direct attack by the Roosevelt government on the democratic right of a working class newspaper to write and criticize from a working class viewpoint.

This blow by the government strikes directly at the democratic rights of all sections of the working class. There is only a short step between holding up the mailing of the socialist MILITANT and suppressing a CIO or AFL paper. Only last week the newspapers reported a plan by the Washington authorities to curtail the quantity of newsprint for labor papers.

What is the reason for withholding the two issues of THE MILITANT from the mails? The attack on THE MILITANT arises first of all from the uncompromising position taken by THE MILITANT on all issues facing the working class and in championing the interests of the labor movement against all its enemies.

What crime has THE MILITANT committed? THE MILITANT fights for the preservation of all democratic rights of the working class, including the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike.

THE MILITANT fights for the extension of democracy to the millions of soldiers and sailors in the armed forces and demands that workers be given military training under trade union control.

THE MILITANT campaigned against wage-freezing and the heavy taxation on the wage earners and is opposed to all such moves to regiment the workers as are now being attempted in the current manpower mobilization bills before Congress.

THE MILITANT advocates the confiscation of all war profits and the expropriation by the government of all war industry to be operated under workers' control.

THE MILITANT is fighting against every form of Jim Crowism and for full economic, social and political equality for the Negro masses.

THE MILITANT'S advocacy of this program is not a crime, but a proof of loyalty to the working class.

This is not a private quarrel between THE MILITANT and the government. It is only the first measure of suppression of the rights of free press guaranteed in the Bill of Rights and proclaimed by Roosevelt as his aim in this war. If they can get away with this attack on THE MILITANT, no labor paper will be safe to utter the slightest criticism or stand up for its democratic rights.

Protest the interference with THE MILITANT'S mailing rights!

Preserve the right of all labor papers for a free press unhampered by reactionary bureaucrats!

Guard all democratic rights of the workers against fascist and reactionary suppression!

Shipowner-Dominated Gov't Board Again Strikes At Maritime Unions

Another step toward the complete emasculatation of maritime labor unions was taken this week when the Maritime War Emergency Board notified the unions of its intention to revise the "Statement of Principles" which had guaranteed the enforcement of existing collective bargaining contracts for the duration of the war.

The Maritime War Emergency Board is proposing a revision which can, in the words of John Hawk, Secretary-Treasurer of the Atlantic & Gulf District of the AFL Seafarers International Union, "bring about an interpretation that would abrogate any clause or clauses in our collective bargaining agreements."

The injection of the MWEB into the fight upon the union contracts, may indicate the government's intention to use this Board in forced arbitration of ALL questions once the contracts have been smashed.

VOL. VI.—No. 47

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1942



FIVE (5) CENTS

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

U. S. 'Democrats' Find It Easy To Do Business With French Fascists

Is The FBI Concocting A Frameup Against The SWP?

An Open Letter to Attorney-General Biddle

By James P. Cannon

NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Mr. Francis Biddle,
Attorney-General of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

A few days ago two agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation appeared at my office at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York City, and inquired of me whether I had had anything to do with a train wreck that occurred about a year and a half ago. They also expressed their intention to question other leaders and members of the party on the same subject.

What is the meaning of this fantastic inquisition? How could the FBI ever arrive at a theory that we, members of a workers' political party with openly declared political aims, could be interested in wrecking trains? All our writings show clearly that we are opposed to individual violence and sabotage.

It appears that in the train directly following or preceding the one that was wrecked there was a car carrying engineers and officials of the Soviet Union.

It is possible that an agent of the FBI, completely unacquainted with what our movement stands for, assumed

that the Trotskyists, being enemies of the Stalinists, might have recourse to violence and sabotage. But it is also possible that, when Stalin became friendly with Washington and London, the GPU became friendly with the FBI, and that the GPU has suggested to the FBI the concoction of a typical Stalinist frame-up against the Trotskyists.

In either case, I want to protest at being subjected to questions which imply that Trotskyists resort to sabotage and violence against individuals. The American workers, and all decent citizens, must recoil with horror from the implication that the federal government is going into the business of imputing fantastic crimes of violence and sabotage to political opponents and critics, and of framing up such charges against them, when the real purpose is political persecution.

Our political ideas can be read in all our papers and pamphlets openly published and distributed. Any attempt to attribute ideas and practices to us outside of those that are openly advocated by us must be publicly called by its right name: a prelude to a frame-up.

Very truly yours,

JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

Deals Strengthen Foes Of The French Masses

Rulers of 'Liberated' North Africa Picked From Rogues Gallery of Reaction

By GEORGE COLLINS

The American occupation of North Africa aroused great rejoicing on the part of government officials, so-called public figures and the press of this country. For them it signified the turning of the military tide in the war with the Axis.

But far different must have been the reaction of the oppressed masses of metropolitan France and of French North Africa. They had listened to the grand promises made by American radio speakers of "freedom from fascist tyranny" and an Atlantic Charter. But the very first actions of the American forces in organizing the conquered African territories told a far different story.

The American command in North Africa is collaborating with the recent collaborators of Hitler. It is appointing to high position and dignifying military and civilian positions held by arch-reactionaries, pro-fascists, enemies of the Soviet Union and slave-masters of colonial peoples.

Here is a partial list:
NOW "OUR" ALLIES
General Giraud, French fascist and anti-Soviet, appointed commander-in-chief of French forces in North Africa. Appointment confirmed by Admiral Darlan.

Admiral Darlan, leading Vichyite collaborator with the Nazi conqueror in its subjugation of France and in its brutal reprisals against French workers, who "assumes responsibility for French interests in Africa" with "the approval of the American authorities." He takes the post with the consent of General Nogues, former administrator of North Africa.

General Nogues, who in the words of Darlan was "appointed by the Marshal to be his delegate in Africa on Nov. 10, before the entry of German troops into the free zone of France . . ." No further comment necessary.

Ives Chatel, Governor-General of Algeria, Vichyite and colonial satrap.

Admiral Esteva, Resident Gen-

eral of Tunis, stooge of Darlan and colonial satrap.

General Alphonse Juin and General George Catroux, former lieutenants of Petain and Darlan and present lieutenants of Darlan.

If an army of liberation, that is, an army of a workers' state came into contact with this scurvy, reactionary crowd the only "collaboration" that would occur would take place in the chambers of a revolutionary tribunal where the reactionary and fascist officers would be tried for high crimes against the French masses. But Roosevelt and his commanders have other aims than "liberation."

Nevertheless, the flagrant character of the collaboration between the American command and Darlan and Co. compelled Roosevelt to retreat. Following attacks by the "Fighting French," Willkie and the outraged liberals, Roosevelt declared that "no permanent arrangements should be made with Admiral Darlan." He described the present deals as only temporary and made for military expediency.

Yet the very character of Roosevelt's explanations tear the mask off any liberationist pretensions of his administration or war aims. Darlan is given the brush-off (although he still remains in command!) because he is too discredited. Only two weeks ago he was a bosom colleague of Petain and . . . Hitler.

GIRAUD AS BAD AS DARLAN

But what about Giraud, no less reactionary than Darlan? Roosevelt approves: "French troops, under the command of Gen. Giraud (are) fighting by the side of American and British soldiers for the liberation of their country."

The only difference between Darlan and Giraud is the degree of their loyalty to U. S. and Britain. There is no difference between them in their violent enmity to the real interests and democratic rights of the French masses. Roosevelt says that "the future French Government will be established by the French people themselves . . ."

How deceptive this promise is can already be seen in the intention of Roosevelt and Co. to allow fascists like Giraud, provided with military equipment and Allied backing, to carry this freedom to the French people on the bayonets of mercenary troops.

Not so many years ago General Francisco Franco carried his murderous "freedom" to the Spanish people also from the shores of North Africa. It should be noted that the same Roosevelt raised an arms embargo against the vast majority of the Spanish people who wanted none of Franco's "freedom."

Despite the talk about the "4 freedoms," the French masses will not give the fascist puppets of American imperialism a better reception than they gave the Quislings of Adolf Hitler.

CIO Convention Reveals Effects Of Support Of The Roosevelt Program

By FELIX MORROW

BOSTON, Nov. 14—The five-day convention of the CIO concluded its sessions last night, with President Philip Murray's closing address insisting that 'the record will show that this convention will undoubtedly go down in history as perhaps the greatest parliament of labor ever conducted anywhere, any place, any time in the history of this country.'

Perhaps these words—like a dozen similar boasts with which Murray punctuated the convention proceedings—were an attempt to dispel from his own mind and those of the delegates the all-too-clear fact that this convention had been the most apathetic of the CIO's five conventions. Nothing that Murray could say could conceal the truth that the Boston convention marked the low ebb of the CIO and the labor movement as a whole, thanks to the false policies of the CIO and AFL top leadership.

Most of the unions represented here had held conventions recently. Those conventions had been interesting, at least in part. Some of those conventions—like the United Auto Workers—had resounded to the voices of workers fresh from the plants, militant and awake to the needs of the workers. Differing points of view were expressed and the clashes gave life to the proceedings.

SHARP CONTRAST

In sharp contrast to the conventions of the CIO unions was this convention of the CIO. There were no differences expressed and there was no life. The delegations were constituted by the top officers of the various unions, and relatively rare was a delegate who still works in a plant. Many of these delegates during the past year had spent more of their time hobnobbing with government officials and employers than in listening to the workers' grievances. The workers' demands were scarcely heard in this convention hall.

There was still power represented in this hall—the concentrated power of five million workers, mainly in the great industries. But that power was paralyzed by the policy and subservience to the government and its boards. The proceedings here were execrably dull because no policies were being determined here. The policies of the CIO were being determined in Washington by Roosevelt and his associates. All that was being done in Boston was to dress up those policies to make them a little more palatable to the workers whom these delegates were supposed to represent.

There is no need to burden the

reader with a day-by-day account of how the convention drifted along under the pompous and uncertain direction of Murray, willing away the hours with dull speeches by government officials and clergymen and even duller

speeches by Murray and Van Bittner.

Nevertheless, out of what was said—and what was not said—emerged, upon analysis, a picture of the real condition of the CIO (Continued on page 4)

Huge New Tax Bill Planned for 1943

Steepest as last month's tax bill was; it is only the beginning. Huge new taxes threaten the worker and dirt farmers.

The Treasury and Federal Reserve Board last week presented the policy board of James F. Byrnes, director of economic stabilization, with the tentative figure of 16 billion dollars in new taxes and compulsory savings as the additional amount to be raised in 1943.

Byrnes asked the Treasury to continue its work and to bring him a more definite plan.

The new levy would be added to the already staggering tax burden of the masses. The added taxes would come exclusively, or nearly exclusively, from the lower-paid groups.

The head of the Senate Finance Committee, the poll-tax Senator George of Georgia, has openly declared that new taxes will have to take the form of a tax on wages (withholding tax) and sales tax.

British Refuse To Give Up Hong Kong

By ALBERT PARKER

The American daily, liberal and Stalinist press gave a big play last month to the announcements by the United States and British governments that they were undertaking to give up their extraterritorial rights in China.

The renunciation of extraterritoriality—the "rights," gained by force and intimidation, which exempt foreigners from trial by Chinese courts and place them under the jurisdiction of the consular courts and laws of their own countries—was cited by these papers as proof that the "democratic" imperialists were really fighting for democracy and freedom and the equality of nations.

A few days later the British government made an equally important statement relating to imperialist privileges in China. Richard Kidston Law, Parliamentary Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, announced in the House of Commons that the government did not intend to surrender Hong Kong along with extraterritoriality. (Time, Nov. 9.)

This information was suppressed by virtually the entire American press. There was little that they could say about it that would jibe with the significance their previous comments had assigned to the surrender of extraterritoriality.

The truth is—Law's statement on Hong Kong confirms it—that the imperialists have no intention of relaxing or diminishing their exploitation of China. On the contrary, their post-war plans envision a more intensive exploitation of China than ever before. For them the economic aspects of this exploitation are fundamental and far outweigh all others, including legal privileges.

Today, with Chinese national self-confidence higher and Chinese distrust of imperialism greater than ever, British and American imperialism feel it necessary to make some "concessions" to the demand for China's independence. So they give up some of the legal rights which they used to facilitate the initial penetration of China. But they will not and cannot make any fundamental changes in policy which might interfere with their post-war plans.

The crown colony of Hong Kong—which was seized by the British 101 years ago in the same way that legal privileges were taken—plays an important strategic part in Britain's plans, not only as a military but also as an economic base. A small island in the South China Sea, it is regarded as the gateway between the east and the west, and one of the greatest trans-shipment ports in the world.

"Straddling sea lanes linking Europe to the Orient, this imperial outpost collected a huge tribute from the Far Eastern trade (before the Sino-Japanese war). From Hong Kong British banks and huge merchant houses branched out inland, into the

crowded provinces of South China. British investors poured funds into railways, commerce and industry. British salesmen combed the market and British engineers built power plants, cement factories and mills. . . .

"100,000 vessels with a total tonnage of 43,000,000 entered its spacious harbor annually. . . . Between a third and a fourth of China's entire export trade passed through the colony. . . ." (From The Fight For The Pacific, by M. J. Gayn, 1941.)

The populous and rich South Chinese provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, dominated by Hong Kong because of its strategic location at the mouth of the Canton River 60 miles below Canton, alone provide a market of more than 50,000,000, which is greater than Britain's own population.

In short, Hong Kong is the key to the economic domination of South China and the profits to be wrung from the commerce of the Far East. It is a hundred times more valuable to British imperialism than legal privileges. And that is the very reason British imperialism, will never peacefully give it back to China.

The liberal, Stalinist and other apologists for "democratic" imperialism pretended they saw a great significance in the statements regarding extraterritoriality. We challenge them to explain to the masses the significance of the British statement on Hong Kong!

Military Journal Gives Advice To The Officers

By HOWARD HOGAN

Among the important lessons to be drawn from the debacle of France is the danger of leaving officers' training in the hands of the capitalist class. In the crucial battles, the officer caste capitulated to the Nazis.

Yet this same system remains entrenched in the United States seemingly with as high approval of official circles today as a quarter of a century ago. The October number of the *Military Review*, published by the Command and General Staff School, for instance, reprints as its leading article an address on "Leadership" delivered by Major Christian A. Bach before a group of student officers in 1918. "The thoughts expressed," affirms an editorial note, "are as true today as they were 24 years ago."

What concerns the Major is the difficulty of getting the ranks of the armed forces to accept as "leaders" the officers who have been placed over them.

WHEN OFFICERS ARE NOT TRUSTED BY THE RANKS

"Men must and will follow into battle officers who are not leaders," declares the Major, "but the driving power behind these men is not enthusiasm but discipline. They go with doubt and trembling, and with an awful fear tugging at their heartstrings that prompts the unspoken question, 'What will he do next?'" "Such men obey the letter of their orders but no more. Of devotion to their commander, of exalted enthusiasm which scorns personal risk, of their self-sacrifice to insure his personal safety, they know nothing. Their legs carry them forward because their brain and their training tell them they must go. Their spirit does not go with them."

The "personal safety" of the officer, to which the Major delicately refers, included in the case of the French officer caste the "safety" of the capitalist class. This urge for self-preservation proved more powerful than "exalted enthusiasm" for the safety of the nation.

"Great results," continues the

Major, "are not achieved by cold, passive, unresponsive soldiers. They don't go very far and they stop as soon as they can. Leadership not only demands but receives the willing, unhesitating, unflinching obedience and loyalty of other men; and a devotion that will cause them, when the time comes, to follow their uncrowned king to hell and back again if necessary."

Apparently the present system of officers' training produces enough "uncrowned kings" incapable of inspiring their "personal safety" through the "self-sacrifice" of the ranks to cause concern to the editors of the *Military Review*. Otherwise why republish this article?

"IF THE OFFICER DOES NOT KNOW..."

Major Bach advises the "uncrowned king" on how to achieve "exalted enthusiasm" among the ranks.

First he advises the man who has been given an officer's commission that it is necessary to become skilled in the military arts: "If the officer does not know, and demonstrates the fact that he does not know, it is entirely human for the soldier to say to himself, 'To hell with him. He doesn't know as much about this as I do,' and calmly disregard the instructions received."

The Major does not mention how many officers remained unskilled in his day, nor do the editors of the *Military Review* give figures for the present. Above all, he does not describe how democratic selection of officers would weed out undesirable and give an opportunity for advancement to promising individuals of the ranks, who, as the Major points out, might know more than their officers.

The Major, however, wastes little time with skill. He places more stress on personal characteristics of the officer such as "self-confidence," moral force, "courage," etc. Among the ways of achieving these desirable qualities the Major advises, "An officer should never apologize to his men." The recipe for "exalted enthusiasm," it seems, is very simple!

Of greatest concern to the Major is the proper attitude an officer should take toward the rank and file. "Above all things," he warns, "don't cheapen yourself by courting their friendship or currying their favor."

"ROPE OF DISCIPLINE"

At the same time he does not believe officers should be too harsh: "For an officer to be overbearing and insulting in the treatment of enlisted men is the act of a coward. He ties the man to a tree with the ropes of

discipline and then strikes him in the face, knowing full well that the man cannot strike back."

Since an officer cannot be held accountable so far as the ranks are concerned, even to the extent of an apology in the opinion of Major Bach, no recourse is provided for men whose lives are endangered by overbearing, insulting, and incompetent officers.

Unable to inspire the armed forces with great ideals in view of the sordid character of imperialist war, the capitalist system is forced to rely upon paternalistic relations between officers and men. If the officers prove incapable of establishing such relations in face of the death agony of the system they represent, then they tie the men "to a tree with ropes of discipline." Paternalism is preferable, as the Major indicates, but they make sure the war is completely open for the other.

Only if they are actually defending a new society will the armed forces develop an enthusiasm that will prove invincible. Only the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government is capable of inspiring the armed forces with great ideals.

TRADE UNION CONTROL OF OFFICER SCHOOLS
But a long step toward this goal is possible. Contrast, for example, the products of officers' schools as described by Major Bach, with the type of officer that would be fostered in training schools run at government expense under control of the trade unions.

In place of officers taken largely from a small well-to-do class alien in outlook to the overwhelming majority of the population, officers schools under trade union control would select the most promising material from the vast resources of the working class and poor farmers.

In such schools, where qualified factory and farm workers could become skilled officers, close teamwork between officers and ranks in action would come as easily and naturally as similar teamwork between leaders and ranks in strike action. The armed forces would have every reason for confidence in officers who wore the union button and who had proved themselves in previous struggles on the picket line.

Above all, the system of trade union control of officers schools blocks at the source the insidious instilling of class and racial outlook of the capitalist class which in France led the officer caste to prefer capitulation to Hitler rather than permit the working class to organize the defense of the country.

WHY we Defend The Soviet Union
By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York City

Where You Can Get THE MILITANT

Boston—Adelman's Newsstand
284 Tremont St.
Chicago—Socialist Bookshop,
Room 421, 160 N. Wells St.
Detroit—The Saturday Bookshop, Room 5, 3513 Woodward Ave., open Saturday evenings from 6 to 9 o'clock.
Harlem—Newsstands at northwest corner of Lenox Ave. and 125th St. and at the northeast corner of Lenox Ave. and 135th St.
Minneapolis—Shinder's News Agency, Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.; Pioneer News Agency, 238 2nd Ave. South.
Newark (Downtown)—Newsstand, 11 Springfield Ave., near Court House.
New Haven—Nodelman's News Depot, 106 Church St., near Chapel.
Rochester—Newsstand, Main St. and Clinton Ave., southeast corner.
Roxbury, Mass.—Friendly Variety Newsstand, Grove Hall.
Seattle—Eckhart News, 102 Washington Street.

Tax Bill Handles Bosses Differently Than Workers

The limitation of "salaries" to \$25,000 a year, which was proclaimed with so much ballyhoo as bringing into reality the "equality of sacrifice" program, is as full of holes as a Swiss cheese.

The worker is told that the employers' income is frozen just as is the workers' wages. Thus, it is hoped, the workers will take wage freezing and tax increases without protest.

But the fact is that the worker's wages are frozen first, and then, after that, from his wages upon which the limit has been imposed, he is supposed to pay all his expenses including insurance payments, mortgage payments (if he is lucky enough to own a home), and repayment on loans as well as the huge taxes.

Contrast this to the treatment the bosses get. The capitalist is entitled to receive \$25,000 after present insurance, mortgage and loan payments as well as federal taxes. Barring the small state income taxes, he gets \$25,000 clear.

Another method by which the capitalists can get around the salary limitation is by placing additional members of the family on the payroll.

Thus many capitalists now receiving a salary of \$100,000 a year after taxes, can put three relatives on the payroll at salaries of \$25,000 after taxes, and completely escape the limitations of the salary ruling.

The edict only sets a limit on salary, but does not touch any other kind of income. Thus a capitalist can get, besides a salary of \$25,000 a year after taxes, any amount of profits, dividends, interest, rent and similar income.

Since the so-called salaries of the capitalists are their least important source of income, practically all of them will continue to receive huge incomes from the profits resulting from the war.

While the workers' wages will be slashed to pieces by wage freezing, taxes and rising living costs, the capitalists will continue to grow fat on "profits as usual."

WORKERS' FORUM

Non-Union Conditions at Sea

Editor:

Since the start of the war, many seamen are shipping through the Maritime Commission and aboard army transports, both of which are non-union. They do this, first because they need the jobs, but also because their unions don't protect them the way they used to.

The maritime unions, like others the land over, are going through a fire of reaction. The seamen haven't been blind to the role that their leaders have played, notably the political fakery of the Stalinists in the NMU.

Despite the constant sellouts of the union leadership, the men would still rather ship through the unions, and do so when they can, but the union ships are often the slow and unsafe ones. A lot of the big fast ships have been taken by the government.

A freighter I was on was so slow she lost the convoy three days out of New York. For weeks she was all alone on the way to Africa. She was so overloaded that on reaching over the side you could almost touch the water.

Recently aboard an army transport the waiters and mess men were given the worst quarters aboard the ship, one deck above the keel, rat-infested and damp. If torpedoes, these men would have about as much chance as their room mates, the rats. Assuming that they could survive the initial blast, their chance of getting up to the boat deck in time would be pretty slim. Hundreds of soldiers, who sleep directly above them, would further impede what little progress they might make otherwise. This was not alone a question of poor quarters, but one of racial discrimination.

All of the men confined to these subterranean quarters were Negro or Puerto Rican! When the men brought these conditions to the attention of the superintendent of the base, his reply was, "If you don't like it, you can get off." Of course, they may change too, because the government is now trying to fix it so you can't get off if you don't like it.

Once aboard an anti-union government ship, seamen don't give up their union ideas, they merely are unable to put them into practice. Among many of the ideas is talk of organizing the army transports and all government shipping. The seamen who talk about this know themselves how difficult this would be and they are at a loss on where to move next. They don't know who to turn to for any leadership.

Your paper has a slogan about the government expropriating industries and the unions running them. No industry is riper for this than maritime. The shipowners have already had all their work taken over by the government who decides what cargoes the ships carry and where they go and how the crews shall work. Why not eliminate the shipowners entirely? They don't do anything but take in the profits anyway.

I'm all for running the merchant marine under the control of

the unions. . . and I'll bet a lot of seamen will feel the same way once they understand it.

L. M.
New York City

Stalin's Policies Hamper The European Revolution

By ANTHONY MASSINI

In 1941 Stalin promised the Soviet masses that the USSR would be saved despite the military advantages enjoyed by Hitler. Aid would be forthcoming, he said, from two sources:

The first, on which he placed the greatest emphasis, was a second front by British and United States imperialism.

The second source of aid Stalin referred to was the oppressed peoples of Europe in both Germany and the occupied countries.

"In this war of liberation we shall not be alone," he said in a radio broadcast on July 3, 1941. "In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including the German people who are enslaved by Hitlerite despots."

"Only the Hitlerite self-adoring fools fail to see that the 'new order' in Europe and the notorious 'basis' of this order constitute a volcano ready to erupt at any moment and bury the German imperialist house of cards. . .

"Only Hitlerite fools can fail to understand that not only the European rear but also the German rear of the German troops represent a volcano ready to erupt and bury the Hitler adventurists." (Stalin's speech to the Moscow Soviet, Nov. 6, 1941.)

"Another few months, another half year, one year perhaps . . . and Hitlerite Germany must collapse under the weight of its own crimes." (Stalin's speech in Red Square, Moscow, Nov. 7, 1941.)

NOT EVEN FROM HIS OWN POINT OF VIEW

In his recent speech to the Moscow Soviet (Nov. 6, 1942), Stalin again complained that the Soviet losses were due to the absence of a second front. Roosevelt took pains to emphasize that the North African invasion begun on Nov. 7, was "effective second front assistance."

That Stalin does not regard it as such was made clear in his Nov. 14 reply to a letter from an AP correspondent, in which he declared that the African "campaign creates the prerequisites for the establishment of a second front in Europe nearer to Germany's vital centers, which will be of decisive importance for organizing the victory over Hitlerite tyranny."

In other words, Stalin's policy of relying on the imperialists has not brought any important results to date, not even from his own point of view.

WHY ARE THEY STILL WAITING?

Although Stalin had promised that effective aid for the USSR

British Stalinists Sabotage Tyne Strike

By J. HASTON

LONDON, Nov. 6 (By Mail) — Tyne shipbuilding workers returned to work on October 13, after an eight day strike which involved (censored) workers in all trades employed on the yards. This was the biggest single strike since the outbreak of the war. Considering the relative unimportance of the issue it is indicative of the restive and irritable mood of the workers as a result of provocations by the boss class.

The action of the workers was provoked by the maneuvers of the union leaders of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions with the employers' organization, the Tyne Shipbuilding Association, who sprang a new agreement without prior consultation with the workers.

The new agreement altered the day which wages were made up, from Tuesday to the previous Sunday, thus leaving two extra days' pay lying in the hands of the employers.

In view of the serious shipping shortage, the workers did not want to hold up production and proposed that the old agreement stand until the new proposals could be studied. At a mass meeting in all shipyards the workers decided not to work the following Monday if their plea was refused.

COMBINED ATTACK

The employers remained adamant. When the workers turned up on Monday morning, the notices were still posted and 80% of the men adhered to their decision and refused to work. Meanwhile, they attempted to influence the government to undertake an inquiry. The government's attitude was soon made clear in the House of

Commons by Bevin who said, "We do not intend to depart from the agreement made between the two parties."

The following day the shop stewards were addressed by the Labor Advisor to the Admiralty, the Admiral of the Port and finally by a representative of the CSEU. All charged the workers with "playing Hitler's game." All warned that "public opinion" was against them.

The boss press also attacked the workers from every angle. "The Most Stupid Strike Ever!" "The Craziest Strike in Trade Union History!" screamed the headlines. However, the tone of the articles were pretty shrill and betrayed a distinct nervousness. They were dealing with a solid and determined body of men.

HOW THE STALINISTS TRIED TO BREAK THE STRIKE

The Communist Party marshaled the whole of its apparatus to smash the strike. Prior to the commencement of the strike every Tyneside worker who was a member of the party received a personal telegram from National Secretary Harry Pollitt, stating that it was imperative that he attend a special meeting which Pollitt was to address. At this meeting Pollitt said that "any shipyard worker who goes on strike is a traitor to his country."

Thousands of leaflets and daily bulletins to party members were issued under the signature of Malcolm MacEwen. They carried the headline: "Give a Courageous Lead." The line laid down was this:

"At every yard meeting our comrades should take part and forcefully put the case for returning to work, announce their own intention of going in, and

appeal to the workers to follow them."

As a result of this campaign the Tyneside shipyard workers became more and more hostile to the Stalinists. The workers threatened to toss the leading Stalinist shop steward into the Tyne when he tried to address a meeting. The strike committee condemned the Communist Party and the *Daily Worker*, characterizing it as a "rag" and refusing to give it a statement.

THE BUREAUCRATS' FEARS

Ellen Wilkinson ("Red Ellen") now tinged with Royal Blue addressed a meeting at Newcastle where she delighted the hearts of the shipowners. Attacking the strikers in the most violent terms, she said:

"Nothing could be so disastrous to the future of the strikers themselves as that they should win this strike. . . Temporary leaders thrown up by the present strike will be the first victims of such mob rule. They will be displaced as they themselves have displaced the shop stewards who are working."

A victory for the strikers would have administered a defeat for the trade union leaders who must demonstrate to the bosses that they still maintain control over the workers. Ellen Wilkinson faithfully reflected the fear of the office seekers who felt their jobs endangered by a victory for the workers.

In face of this unholy alliance, the workers were undaunted. At the outset of the strike the overwhelming majority of the workers believed that they would be out for a day or two days at the most. They did not visualize a really vicious struggle and were not prepared for a long drawn out strike. As the strike lengthened into the second pay week it was obvious that the workers were going to suffer hardships.

THE STEWARDS' STAND

In consequence, the stewards met to sum up the situation and decided to advise the workers to return to work. In putting their case to the men for returning to work, they took the view that they had come out as a solid body and as such they should go back. They made no bones about it, they had been defeated. There was neither the mood nor the desire to extend the strike to other parts of the country or have it ended as an adventure.

It was decided that every shop steward should immediately resign on returning to work and seek the confidence of the workers by a re-election. In this way the feeling of the men could be properly tested and the waverers and strikebreakers among the shop stewards could be eliminated from their ranks.

RANKS' REACTION

The feeling of the workers was adequately expressed by the re-election of every steward who stood with the workers in the course of the strike and by the unceremonious way in which the Stalinist strikebreakers were pitched out of the workers' committees.

The present policy of the Stalinist leadership is resulting in the sifting of the genuine working class militants in the C. P. from the Pollitts and their stooges. A strong bloc signified that they were quitting the Party and throwing in their cards. These workers will keep the trust and confidence of their fellow workers on the Tyne, for they demonstrated in practice that when the Stalinist Party puts forward an anti-working class policy, they choose to stand with their class.

LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

The main weakness of the workers was that their official union machinery stood behind the bosses all the time. Against the expressed democratic will of the Tyne workers, the union officials pursued a course of action in violation of every function for which the workers' organizations were set up. In withholding strike funds on the grounds that the strike was illegal, the union officials gave the capitalists the weapon that meant victory.

Out of the workers' ranks appeared a leadership which showed great capabilities as well as fighting spirit. These men will be pushed to oust the present chair warmers who control the unions and hold the workers down.

But this can be done only through bitter struggle and a prerequisite for this struggle is a renewed interest in the union by all the militant workers. Past union defeats have discouraged many workers and lessened their interest in their organizations. To save the unions is the first task of every militant industrial worker in England.

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25th Anniversary Of The Russian Revolution

Comrades:

We meet on the twenty-fifth anniversary of that great day when the world-encircling chain of imperialism snapped at its weakest link, and the workers of Czarist Russia, supported by the peasants, broke through to victory and established the first workers' state. We are meeting tonight, as we and our kind have been meeting on each succeeding anniversary throughout the years since 1917, as partisans and defenders of the Russian revolution and of the workers' state which the Russian revolution created.

We are not alone today. The whole world is taking notice of the USSR on this anniversary. Everybody is recognizing the Soviet Union, each in his own way. Churchill, who tried his best to overthrow it in the early days, and Roosevelt, who to judge by the indictment which his administration drew up against us, was, to say the least, not very friendly to the Russian revolution—Churchill and Roosevelt pay hypocritical tribute today to "the great Russian people" and "the heroic Red Army." Hitler looks toward the East through dark glasses to-night, with fear and trembling, wondering whether his insane dream of empire hasn't been shattered on the Russian front.

Remembering the Russian revolution of 1917, the workers of Europe and the colonial slaves lift up their hearts in hope once more today. Each in his own way, for reasons of his own, takes notice of this twenty-fifth anniversary. But the differences in the reasons—and they are whole worlds apart—change nothing in the decisive fact that everybody is saluting, recognizing, or cursing a state and an army which issued from a victorious revolution of the workers. This revolution is in the greatest crisis

of its entire history at this hour, in its greatest peril. We know this and we say it openly. And we say also, and with truth, that in its greatest crisis and danger, we Fourth Internationalists, its disciples of Lenin and Trotsky, remain the best defenders of the Soviet Union. The fact that we are celebrating the revolution and not announcing its funeral shows that we are still fighting. We are fighting for a revolution that is still living.

War and revolution are the most authoritative of all tribunals. It is there, in war and in revolution, that all the great questions are decided in our epoch. The outbreak of the first World War in August, 1914, demonstrated that capitalism, as an economic and social system, had exhausted its progressive historic mission. The Russian revolution of November, 1917 served notice that a more powerful class than the class of capitalists had come to maturity. The modern proletariat, the progressive force in modern society, the herald and representative of a new social order—this class, as demonstrated by the revolution, took the offensive in the class battle which can only end in world-wide victory.

November 7, 1917. The death sentence on the old order of capitalism and the beginning of the new order of world socialism were both proclaimed on that day. And whatever vicissitudes, whatever set-backs, betrayals or defeats may overtake the proletariat on the road to that final goal; however sharp and deep may be the zig-zags in the line which charts the course of the struggle through which humanity shall pass from capitalism to socialism; whatever may befall, the starting point in the line of development will always be traced to that great day which we commemorate to-night—November 7, 1917.

THE INTERNATIONAL EFFECTS

I can remember the dark days of the first World War, 1914-1917. Then, as now, all the hopes for humanity's progress seemed to be drowned in the blood of the war. Reaction seemed to be triumphant everywhere. The enemies of the proletariat gloated over the treachery and capitulation of the socialist parties, and to many—to the great majority. I venture to say—the theory and the hope of socialism seemed vanished like a utopian dream. And then, as now—as has already been remarked here tonight—faint hearts and deserters mocked at those who continued the stubborn struggle and held on to their revolutionary faith. The whole world labor movement was overcome with depression and despair in 1914-15-16 and 17.

But the Russian revolution of November 7 changed all that overnight. At one blow the revolution lifted the proletariat of Europe to its feet again. It stirred the hundreds of millions of colonial slaves who had never known political aspiration before, who had never dared to hope before. The Russian revolution awakened them to a new life.

Here in the United States, the progressive sections of the socialist and labor movement were reinvigorated by the Russian revolution. The morale of the movement grew stronger than ever before. For the first time, concentrated in revolutionary action, we had a demonstration of the real meaning of the doctrines of Marxism. For the first time, we learned from the example and teachings of Lenin and Trotsky and the leaders of the Russian revolution, the real meaning of a revolutionary party. Those who remember that time, whose lives became welded to the Russian revolution, must think of it today as the greatest inspiring and educational force that the oppressed class of the world has ever known.

THE WORKERS' POST-WAR DEFEATS

Thus the revolution, which objectively had every possibility to succeed on the whole continent of Europe, failed in the post-war years. The workers today have to pay for that failure, and for the consequent isolation of the Soviet Union, with another and even more terrible World War.

The capitalist world surrounded and isolated the Soviet Union. For three years, 1918 to 20, the revolution had to fight for its life in the civil war financed and supported by the world imperialists, and in the interventionist attempts in which the great majority of the capitalist powers participated. The economy of Russia, terribly backward when the war began, a heritage from Czarism, was almost completely ruined in the war and the civil war which followed. Hunger and famine ravished the whole land. But the first workers' state survived all of that. It survived the isolation and the blockade imposed upon it by world imperialism. It survived the civil war, the intervention, the famine, the hunger, the economic disorganization and demoralization. The Soviet Union survived because, contained within that effort of the proletariat of Russia, there was a dynamic power such as had never been released before in the whole world, the power of the revolutionary proletariat.

The revolution survived, but not without terrible cost. On the basis of the hunger, and the scarcity, and the backwardness, and the isolation, arose the reactionary privileged bureaucracy personified by Stalin. The crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy are known to everyone present here. They

Marx and Engels lifted the conception of socialism from utopia to science. The Russian revolution developed scientific socialism from theory into action, and proved several things which before had been abstract generalizations and predictions. The Russian revolution proved in action that certain things were true beyond all further doubting. The first of these things that were proved by the revolution was that it is possible for the workers to take power. It is possible for the workers to forge out of its ranks a party that is capable of leading the struggle to victory. And the workers in all countries will everlastingly remember that. Nothing can erase from history that example. Victory of the proletariat is possible—the Russian revolution in action, in blood and fire, proved that it is so.

We all know that the authentic leaders of the revolution, Lenin, Trotsky, conceived of it not as an end in itself, but as a first step, the first stage, in the world revolution which alone could complete what had been started in the Soviet Union. The conditions objectively were already mature in 1917, 18 and 19, for such a world revolution, beginning in Europe. What was lacking was the leadership, the party, without which the workers cannot succeed. The leadership of the old party, the Social Democrats, who had betrayed the workers under the test of war, supported the bourgeoisie in their counter-revolutionary fight against the workers in the period following the war. The young and hastily organized communist parties, which had been formed in European countries in response to the example of the Russian revolution, were as yet too weak and too young, too inexperienced, for their historic task.

debated the theory which had guided the revolution. They destroyed the party that had made the revolution. They destroyed the Soviets and the trade unions as self-acting organisms of the workers. They assassinated a whole generation of the leaders of the revolution. They beheaded the Red Army, and they capped their series of unprecedented crimes against the people by the assassination of the most authentic representative of the revolution—Comrade Trotsky.

But they haven't, in spite of all of that, been able to kill the revolution. There is something there that proved itself to be stronger than all the imperialist powers of the world in the early days; something stronger than the corroding and degenerating bureaucracy. We alone know the full extent of the bureaucratic degeneration that has taken place in the Soviet Union since the death of Lenin. And we, following Trotsky, exposed it and explained it before others and without any embellishments whatever. We know the full extent of the degeneration but we also know the limits of the degeneration. We know that the basic conquests of the revolution, the nationalized industry and the planned production, remain at the base of the Soviet state. That is why the revolution stays alive in spite of all the premature announcements to the contrary.

The vitality of the revolution is demonstrated in every test. First of all, in the most decisive field, the field of economy, the base of society. The Russian revolution proved for all time, in spite of bureaucratic mismanagement, the superiority of the

Text Of James P. Cannon's Speech At New York Anniversary Meeting, Nov. 8



JAMES P. CANNON, NATIONAL SECRETARY, S. W. P.

Soviet system of planned economy over the capitalist system of private property and anarchy in production. This superiority of Soviet economy was first demonstrated, most dramatically and convincingly, in that very period, after 1929, of the world-wide crisis of the capitalist nations. When capitalist economy was plunging down to unheard of depths of stagnation and demoralization—in that very period, in spite of the backwardness of Russia, in spite of the isolation of Russia and its unworthy leadership, in that very period the Soviet revolution showed its power in a tremendous advance and development of industry.

That economic strength of the Soviet regime, and the strength of the revolutionary tradition, are being reflected now in the military field. The whole world has been surprised and astounded by the military prowess of the Red Army. All the military experts counted upon a defeat of the Russian armies in the space of a few weeks or months. But this Red Army has

stood up for 17 months, despite bad leadership and almost continuous retreats and defeats, without cracking. I say, the whole world has been surprised, including Stalin, who had no more confidence in the Red Army than he had in Soviet economy, than he has in the revolutionary powers of the workers generally. The Trotskyists were not taken by surprise. Trotsky predicted that imperialist attack on the Soviet Union would unleash marvels of proletarian enthusiasm and fighting capacity in the Red Army. He could do that because he, better than others, understood that the great motive power of the victorious revolution had not all been expended. The Red Army which the world hails is an army created by a proletarian revolution. This revolution lives in the memory of the Soviet people. That, and the basic conquests which they still retain and upon which they stand, constitute the basis upon which the Red Army has unfolded such unparalleled capacity for defense and resistance and heroic sacrifice.

FASCISM AND THE WORKERS' STATE

The war put to a test the fetish of fascism. In the period of the great reaction following the death of Lenin, the betrayal of the Chinese revolution, the defeat in Germany, and the fascist victory in Italy, followed by the fascist victory in Germany—all these events gave rise to a fetish of fascism as of some new, great, invincible power which might possibly have a progressive historic role to play. Along with that, we have seen developed in recent years the theory of the identity of fascism and socialism. The identity of the political methods of Stalinism and fascism led philistines and renegades to identify the Stalinist and fascist regimes altogether, to say they are the same thing, national sectors of a new social order that is developing, creating some new class of "bureaucratic collectivists," or something of that sort.

Our movement, the movement of the Fourth International, long ago refuted these superficial theories. Trotsky's analysis has been fully confirmed in the war. Trotsky, in his analysis, did not proceed from the estimation of single events or isolated symptoms. Reasoning as a Marxist, he took this theory of the identity of fascism and the Soviet Union, and he put the question first of all: How did each one arise? Here the most profound difference is revealed at the very start. In Russia the Soviet regime arose as a product of the proletarian revolution, as a victory of the workers against the Czarist police, Black Hundreds and White Guards. Fascism in Italy, on the other hand, arose as a counter-revolution of Black Hundred gangs, financed by the big capitalists, against the workers. Italian fascism did not come to power as an imitation of the Russian revolution, but as a counter-revolutionary answer to it.

Secondly, Trotsky put the question: How did each regime—the Russian and the

The Italian workers and peasants don't want to fight because they have not got a particle of confidence in the regime and don't consider it worth fighting for. That is the explanation of the Italian military defeats everywhere. In Greece the Italian soldiers on one front laid down their arms and marched in as prisoners, not with their heads bowed, seeking pardon from the conquerors; they marched in singing "Bandiera Rossa," the great suppressed marching song of the Italian workers' movement. That song will resound again in mighty chorus in the streets of Italy.

The truth is that the fascist regime of Italy, after a brief twenty years, is bankrupt through and through and cannot stand defeats, while the Soviet Union, the product of a proletarian revolution, has shown a mighty strength in war in spite of the most terrible defeats caused by bad leadership. And if the German fascist, Hitler, brooding over the Eastern front and the steadily growing wave of discontent and revolt throughout the mass of the people at home, wants to know the fate of his dream of a thousand years of German fascist domination, he can look to Mussolini—there he will see the image of his own future. Fascism cannot stand the test of war, cannot stand defeat. Those who say that fascism and Sovietism are the same are completely refuted by the realities of the war.

Fascism and the Soviet system are not the same. Fascism is a desperate and short-lived, final expedient of a dying social system. In a brief twenty years Italian fascism has exhausted its economic, its military, and all its moral reserves. On the other hand, the Soviet system is the historically necessary birth of a new social order, better and more progressive than capitalism either in its democratic or its fascist form, and historically destined to supersede capitalism.

The Russian revolution proved three things for all time. Two of them have been mentioned. First, it proved that the party and the leadership necessary for victory

can be created by the proletariat, as they have been created by the Russian proletariat.

Second, the Russian revolution proved—I am now repeating what I said before—that the system of nationalized industry and planned economy, introduced by a Soviet revolution, is superior, more progressive, more productive, than any device of capitalism, whether democratic or fascist.

And the third thing which we can say is demonstrated by the revolution, and proved now in the test of war, is that only one class is capable of solving the great social problems of our epoch. That class is the proletariat.

The Fourth International with its program and its tactics anchored to these three propositions, has been proven correct by the whole test of events. Therefore, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the revolution, we do not change our course. We see not only the terrible weakness of the Soviet regime which derives from the bureaucratic mismanagement and control. We see also the strength and the power which derives from the revolutionary origin of the Soviet Union and its basic conquests.

I think it is quite clear that Hitler made a mortal error in attacking the Soviet Union. Fascist thinking was far too superficial for the complicated problem involved in the attempt to destroy the Soviet Union and its Red Army and its economic system. Hitler made a very common mistake. He saw only the bureaucracy which is weak, inefficient and cowardly, and he did not see, and did not understand, the vitality of the still living revolution, and the mighty sources of achievement and heroism that this revolution could call forth in time of war. All the petty-bourgeois political thinkers overlook this point—the difference between the Soviet Union, which is the product of a great revolution, and the usurping bureaucracy, which is a parasitic tumor on the Soviet Union. It is quite obvious that Hitler is no genius but just another petty-bourgeois thinker.

CLASS NATURE OF THE USSR

For our part, we have always rejected these superficial conclusions of the vulgar thinkers, who judge every feature or incident out of its historic context, without regard for what went before and what must come after. To our way of thinking, to the Marxist method of analysis, the origin of the Soviet state had to be taken as the point of departure. This origin was in revolution. We studied it, aided and directed by Comrade Trotsky. We studied the Soviet Union, not as an isolated static phenomenon but as a process. We studied it in its changes, and tried to determine in each case what was fundamental and what was secondary, what had been gained and what had been lost in that changing process. And by this method of thinking we arrived at our conclusion: that the Soviet Union does not and cannot represent fascism, nor a social order ruled by a new exploitive class, but a deformed and degenerated workers' state. And from that we proceed to our fighting motto: "Never surrender a position before it is lost!" We know all the defects of the Soviet Union. We know all the crimes of the bureaucracy. But we know also all that mighty power of those conquests of the progressive revolution which remain still intact, and therefore we continue to defend the Soviet Union.

Some may say, "Defense of the Soviet Union in the present circumstances can be only moral support. Of what use is it?" We can answer—and I can tell you from my personal knowledge and recollection—that the moral support of the international proletariat was the force which saved the Soviet Union from destruction in its earliest years, and even later. The interventions against the Soviet Union could not succeed because the sympathy of the masses of the people of Europe for the Soviet Union was so great. It was impossible for the imperialist to organize mass armies or take any serious military measures because of the threats of the workers against any government that would try it.

Moral support is what we give here in America, as always since 1917, but our policy is not only for the United States. Our policy is a world policy, as that of the Marxists and Bolsheviks has always been. Our policy is the policy of the Russian section of the Fourth International, which lives and fights. And they continue at their task—to defend the country, to rebuild the Bolshevik party, to revive the Soviets and the trade unions, and to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy. Whether, with the help of the international proletariat, they shall succeed or fail, history has yet to show.

Stalin's speech the other day, printed in all the capitalist newspapers, only shows that he is still doing all that he can to ensure the defeat of the Soviet Union in the war with Hitlerism. Stalin rejects the real allies of the Soviet Union—the workers of Europe and America and the colonial people, and above all, the workers of Germany—and he directs his appeal and his alliances to the imperialists of the United States and Great Britain. He looks for the salvation of the Soviet Union, rather of the bureaucracy, in a victory of the so-called United Nations against the Axis powers. If they defeat the Axis, if America and Great Britain crush fascist Germany in the war, would that ensure the safety of the Soviet Union? Those who may be deluded by that thought for a moment, should remember 1918-20.

No sooner had an armistice with the Central Powers been arranged, before peace was concluded, than the former allies of Russia, the champions of democracy—England, France and America—turned all their force against the Russian revolution. If they succeed in establishing a front in the Balkans and defeat Hitler, who can imagine in the absence of a European revolution, that the sword of Hitler having been broken, it will not be replaced by the sword of Anglo-American imperialism pointed at the Soviet Union, as it was in 1918-20? How can it be otherwise? The conflict between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers is something different and more profound than the rivalry between one imperialist power and another. Here is involved the clash, the irreconcilable conflict of two contrasting social systems. One or the other must prevail in the world; one or the other must go down. And whoever preaches trust in the Anglo-American imperialists is a traitor to the Soviet Union.

We, for our part, turn to the workers—above all, to the German workers—and to the colonial people, and we say, they are the only true allies of the Soviet Union. They are the only true allies because they alone have their fundamental interest bound up with the preservation of the Soviet Union, just as the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union are indissolubly connected with the fate of the uprisings of the colonial masses and the victory of the workers in the world. And let those doubt who will. We believe in the workers. We believe in the colonial slaves awakened to new life by the Russian revolution.

We don't doubt that in India tonight, millions of the colonial insurgents are thinking, on this anniversary day, of the Russian revolution. They are thinking, simply but strongly, and saying to themselves: "The Russians did it; why can't we?" Once the oppressed masses of the world begin to think that way the realization of that aspiration will be placed on the order of the day. We believe that before this bloody carnage is over, the workers, the people, will say their decisive word. And when they speak to the imperialists, they will speak Russian.

The Russian revolution is in the greatest peril today. We do not delude ourselves about that. We do not deceive ourselves or others with any false optimism about the danger confronting the Soviet Union. We see the situation as it really is. We know that the fate of the Soviet Union hangs in the balance, that it depends now, more than ever, on the world revolution of the proletariat and the colonial masses. But we have faith in the world revolution, and because of that, we retain our hope in the ultimate regeneration of the Soviet Union. We keep undimmed our faith that world revolution will release humanity from this terrible vise of the war, and open up a new stage of progress on the way to the communist future. Because of that, here on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary, as we celebrate the living revolution, we can still express the confident hope that the funeral of the Russian revolution, which so many renegades and traitors are announcing, will not merely be postponed, but will never take place.

BANKRUPTCY OF THE FASCISTS

All these profound differences in the two regimes, which superficial people wanted to identify, show their significance now under the test of the war. And what does the war say about the theory that fascism and Sovietism are the same thing? Ten days ago Italian fascism celebrated its twentieth anniversary—October 29. But it wasn't much of a celebration. It was more like a funeral. Mussolini didn't even appear in the arena to puff out his chest and make threatening speeches. Very little was said because all the dreams of the fascist Roman Empire of Mussolini are gone with the wind. The people of Italy are starving. The economy is bankrupt. The country seethes with revolution. The fascist masters of Italy are no longer able to control the people;

they have to rely on Hitler's troops and secret police.

The soldiers of Italy will no longer fight any more anywhere in the world. And we have this absurd explanation of cowardice. Every time a serious military struggle begins, the Italian soldiers retreat or surrender. We hear this stupid chauvinistic explanation that this is due to the racial inferiority of the Italians, to their cowardice. But, of course, it is ridiculous to speak about the cowardice or the military incapacity of the Italian soldiers. There are no braver people than the Italians. They are the equals in every way of any other nationality in Europe or America. The true explanation of the Italian military debacle is very simple.

Sidelights At The Fifth Annual Convention Of The CIO

BOSTON, Nov. 15.—One moment in a dull convention when the delegates really pricked up their ears was when Walter Reuther started telling CIO how the Big Businessmen in Washington really feel about the Soviet Union:

"I came back from Washington about three weeks ago in a plane," Reuther said, "and there were two representatives of the War Production Board in front of me, big automobile executives.

"They were reading the news about Stalingrad, and Hitler had gained that particular day, and they were rejoicing because the Nazis had pushed the Communists back on the Stalingrad front. One of them said:

"All we have to do is just give the Russians enough so they can hang on, and they will destroy one another."

"That was the attitude," con-

cluded Reuther, "and that attitude permeates the biggest levels of our war production activities in Washington."

Senator Pepper of Florida has quite a veneer of civilization enameled on over his Southern Bourbon hide, but the veneer cracked at one point during his speech at the CIO convention.

Pepper was describing the various crimes of the Axis powers. Finally he came to Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia. Pepper described how Mussolini "carved up the carcasses of the savages of Ethiopia."

A carcass is the body of an animal; the word is never applied to the human body — except by Southern Bourbons referring to the bodies of Negroes.

Bitterly humorous, one Negro delegate remarked to me that Pe-

per was trying to work up some sympathy in his own mind for the victims of Mussolini. He couldn't think of feeling bad about Negroes being carved up, but could feel a little sorry for the Ethiopians by calling them savages.

The biggest flop of the convention was Hillman's would-be comeback speech on Wednesday. His lieutenants had informed the press he would speak that day and tried to dress up the occasion. But first Murray let Hillman down, merely recognizing him — it was during the discussion on "total war mobilization" — as "delegate Hillman." Hillman was on the platform and proceeded to make a full-dress speech, attempting to justify his record during the time he was

co-director of OPM. Hillman was never a good orator, but he is pretty terrible now. Unfortunately for him, too, he followed a very able speech by Reuther.

Delegates drifted out of the hall in increasing numbers as Hillman continued. Neither by personal qualifications nor by machine politics and least of all by program did Hillman have any standing. Most of the delegates actively dislike him for having "pioneered" — he was at Roosevelt's elbow when he ordered the troops to break the North American Aviation strike — in the ugly business of hamstringing labor.

Rule No. 3 of the convention provided: "Speeches shall be limited to five minutes."

But that was only observed for the common herd.

Anytime that Van Bittner or Hillman or Murray or the like started to talk, he talked as long as he pleased. The big shots simply came to the platform and talked from there, without even the pretense of asking a majority to waive the rule.

Van Bittner, officially second in command to Murray in the Steel Workers, obviously thinks of himself as the heir to Murray as CIO President. As such, he felt it necessary to spout on practically every question, so that endless pages of the record are filled with his unbelievably dreary speeches.

Sitting on the platform most of the time, next to Murray, his demeanor made it plain that he considers Murray as merely an equal. So, as a matter of fact, do Allan

C. Haywood, Frank Bender and the other old wheelhorses from the miners. When they broke with John L. Lewis, they didn't do it under the leadership of Murray. Roosevelt is their leader.

John L. Lewis' former lieutenants fear him still, despite their brave words. Themselves bereft of anything but the ordinary tricks of bureaucracy, they fear some new bold adventure of his will catch them flatfooted.

Van Bittner said: "I think John L. Lewis is fast committing suicide for himself, so I have nothing personal to say concerning him." Meaning, he wished he could be sure Big John was through.

And Murray assured the convention, at the end of a long speech about John L. Lewis: "I

am not going to occupy another minute of your time talking about the matter, and I want to assure you that tonight I am going to have a perfectly good, honest to God night's rest." No doubt because he has spent many a sleepless night thinking about what John L. is cooking up for him. That silly business of the delegates rising in silence, in mock memory of John L. Lewis, had a Freudian touch about it. They just wished he were dead and gone.

CIO is still having trouble buying radio time. "A number of local radio stations still adhere to the pre-Pearl Harbor attitude of refusing to sell time, on the ground that our material is controversial," the Committee on Publicity reported.

CIO convention minutes are usually very scrupulous — much more so than AFL conventions — but there was one astonishing omission.

In calling for recommitting the resolution on racial discrimination in order to have it strengthened, Willard S. Townsend, President of the United Transport Service Employees Union (the Negro red caps) cited the case of "a prominent CIO leader" in the South who had told him: "We organize in this section of the country according to the established pattern" — that is, catering to the doctrine of white supremacy.

Townsend's speech appears on page 48 of the Tuesday minutes — but without the paragraph about that "prominent CIO leader"! Nor is there any indication of any kind that his speech is not reproduced as a whole.

Effects Of Subordinating CIO To Roosevelt

(Continued from page 1)

today after a year of war. That picture is worth describing in detail.

NO ITEMIZATIONS

In the 1936 and 1940 elections, the trade union leaders in campaigning for Roosevelt gave him credit for every advance made by the organized struggles of the workers against the bosses. By the same token, the CIO leadership, ending every convention speech with fervent declarations of support for Roosevelt, should have itemized all the gains made by the workers during the last year thanks to Roosevelt.

But there were no such itemizations.

Instead, there emerged a picture of setbacks suffered by the CIO and the whole labor movement.

What is the present membership of the CIO? One would think that the first duty of the leadership would be to present the convention with exact figures, recording gains or losses, and to explain them. Instead, Murray's lengthy written report included no figures for total CIO membership. Likewise Haywood, the Director of Organization, achieved the signal feat of making an

organization report without figures.

The most that Haywood could say was: "The CIO hasn't done so bad in the last year in organizing workers. It can do better in the coming year and should do so." Which, coming from people who vociferously congratulate themselves for every small advance, simply means that in a year of unprecedented increase of employment in the mass industries the CIO has achieved no substantial growth.

Strenuously seeking for something to indicate progress, the Committee on Officers' Reports boasted of the "impressive list of Labor Board elections won." That might deceive some workers back home, but every delegate present knew that most of those elections did not constitute new workers brought into the CIO. The bulk of the elections were in auto and steel plants. Thanks to the kind of contracts negotiated by their leaders, the auto workers, upon being shifted to newly-built war plants of the same company, had had to go through new Labor Board elections to re-establish their right to union representation. Likewise in the steel plants, previously organized men were voting.

under the guise of 'national defense' which has characterized every major struggle to bring bargaining rights and union conditions to war industries.

"The CIO has the choice of successfully organizing the South and smashing the greatest reservoir of open-shop strength, thus facing a break with the Administration, or watering down the drive and retreating on the basis of the CIO leadership's

political commitments to Roosevelt." (THE MILITANT, Dec. 6, 1941.)

Murray, Haywood and associates made their choice—they watered down the drive and it collapsed, thanks to their political commitments to Roosevelt. No wonder the Southern campaign, the principal feature of discussion last year in Detroit, was taboo in Boston!

No Substantial Growth In CIO

Almost equally taboo was the fact that, having surrendered the strike weapon, and having accepted "stabilization," the union leaders find little basis on which to induce the workers to join the hamstrung unions. One of the very few references to this situation was made by Frankenstein of the UAW, who confessed his difficulties in trying to organize the West Coast:

"We no longer have the approach we once had of telling these workers that if they join up with us we have a very tangible something to put in their hands, that we can get them a wage increase, that we will get them five, ten or fifteen cents an hour and their retroactive pay. We do not have that avenue left, or many other avenues that we previously had. No longer can we step in and organize a plant, and if we are unsuccessful in bargaining we can no longer strike, because we are committed to a no-strike policy during the war."

This is a grim picture of the consequences of the AFL-CIO surrender of workers' rights to the government. But Frankenstein did not dwell on it long. He brightened up and went on to offer his solution to the situation. It is true the unions cannot offer wages and working conditions now. But:

"We can give the workers the message of what is going to happen in the post-war days if we do not have an organization to protect their interests. We can point out the 13 million unemployed that followed the last World War and we can point out, too, that they will join these 13 million unemployed after this war unless there is a labor union that has been built up strong enough to step in and make the fight that labor was making before the war effort."

Such was Frankenstein's brilliant solution, and Murray, Haywood and all the others sagely nodded their heads in agreement. Quite apart from the absurdity of trying to organize new workers with post-war promises, these CIO leaders seemed unaware of the picture that Frankenstein was painting of the "just peace after victory" which they refer to as their justification for supporting Roosevelt. A "just peace" of chronic unemployment and hunger—this is the sole talking point they offer for getting new workers to join the unions now!

MORE WORKERS IN INDUSTRY—BUT NO GAINS

The bankrupt approach of the leadership to the problem of organizing new workers during the war was epitomized in the slogan which Murray proposed at the close of the discussion on organization: "The slogan of this convention should therefore be, Join the Union and Help our Country Win the War."

For 40 years Murray has been beaten by the employers at the game of wrapping himself in Old Glory. Nevertheless that is all he has to offer as a program in the greatest crisis that has ever confronted the American workers. One delegate, Merrill of the

Office and Professional Workers, while echoing Murray's line, nevertheless gave the figures which show the real situation of the CIO. He said:

"When CIO was organized in 1935 there were some 48 million wage earners in the United States. As a result of the organizing campaign of CIO, the organized trade union movement today represents between 11 and 12 million people, but it has represented substantially that number since the conclusion of those great organizing days back in 1936 and 1937. Today, in the month of November, 1942 the total wage earning force in the United States is 59 million people, and government authorities advise us that in the early part of 1943 there will be 62 million wage earners. The ratio of organized labor to the new working class that has been brought forth in this country has been obviously in the direction of representing a smaller proportion of the total working force in the country."

In other words, CIO remains at about five million members at a time when there has been added some eleven or twelve million workers to the population. Moreover, of the 59 million total of all wage earners, a larger proportion is working in mass production industries—due to war contracts—than in 1935 or 1939, so that actually CIO remains at five millions after about 15 million 'more' workers have been added to organizable big industry. These figures express the bankruptcy of the CIO top leadership.

A PICTURE OF THE WAR LABOR BOARD

What about the section of the workers who are organized in the unions? How are they faring under the CIO-AFL policies? What are the results of their subordination to the War Labor Board?

Strenuous attempts to justify the War Labor Board were made by Lee Pressman, CIO Chief Counsel; and by CIO board members and a l t e r n a t e s R. J. Thomas, Bittner, and Rieve. Each of them felt it necessary to defend it—and no wonder, considering what they had to report about its anti-labor consequences! Pressman began by declaring that "we ought to be extremely careful not to fall into the trap that our enemies would like us to fall into and come to the conclusion that the Board ought to be scrapped." For precisely that conclusion logically followed from his description of the War Labor Board.

The convention resolution declared that "outstanding in the accomplishments" of the War Labor Board has been its aid "in defeating the efforts of those who would have seriously impeded war production and impaired labor morale by a wage freeze."

But this claim was given the lie by what CIO Counsel Pressman had to report:

Theoretically, the Board in specific cases may approve wage rises (1) totalling not more than

15% over the wages of January 1, 1941, to compensate partially for the rise in the cost of living and (2) wage adjustments to eliminate inequalities or "substandard" wages.

A FEW JOKERS

The joker in this setup is that no wage agreement may go into effect until it is approved by the Board. What happens in those cases where an employer does negotiate such an agreement, Pressman described:

"As of a week ago there was in Washington, in the offices of the National War Labor Board, about three or four thousand wage agreements. The entire administrative machinery of the Board has completely broken down to such a degree that the division that was handling these voluntary wage agreements had stopped looking over the agreements, looking toward their approval. These agreements piled up in some room over in some warehouse somewhere. They simply had not made any record

of them. They did not have them catalogued, so that if during the past few weeks you had gone over to the Board or had written and tried to find out something about your wage agreement, you were lucky if you got an answer.

"Most of us did not get answers, because they did not know how to answer us. They could not find our wage agreements. . . . It may take anywhere from a couple of weeks to six or eight months to get the approval of the Board for a wage agreement voluntarily entered into by employer and union."

Nor is this the end of the run-around. Even after the Board's regional director approves an agreement, then, "if the employer has indicated that he believes that a price increase may be necessary if he grants the wage increase, that wage contract, before you can get final Board approval, must go to the Office of Price Administration for 'their' approval. How much time 'that' is going to take I don't know and I don't believe anybody else can tell you."

The War Labor Board Runaround

All the foregoing applies to cases in which the employer agrees with the union on a new wage agreement.

Where the employer does NOT agree, the unions, have surrendered their strike weapon, have no means to compel the employer.

In return for this surrender, the government provides the following procedure:

(1) The union requests the services of a federal conciliator, who attempts to bring the parties together, with the employer invariably refusing.

(2) Having exhausted conciliation, the Federal Conciliation Service certifies the case to the National War Labor Board.

(3) The Board appoints a three-man panel (one each representing labor, industry and the "public") to hold hearings.

(4) The panel submits its findings and recommendations to the Board.

(5) The Board hands down a decision.

This is the long, involved procedure. But even this exists only on paper. The real situation that results was described by Pressman as follows:

"As of a week ago the conciliation service, where you had to go first, had certified about five or six hundred cases to the National War Labor Board, and those five or six hundred cases, as you know, have clogged up the docket of the Board to a degree that it takes weeks before you can get a panel. Dr. Steelman (head of the conciliation service) told me that to save the clogging of the War Labor Board's dockets he had merely certified about five or six hundred cases against his docket, which showed 8,000 cases to which he is supposed to assign conciliators."

In short, the war will be over before most of the local unions will get a hearing before a panel from the War Labor Board.

THE PANEL

As for those cases which do get before a panel, Pressman stated: "Let me explain what you are up against in these panels. Until recently, with the exception of the West Coast and one or two other cases, all cases had to be heard before their panels in Washington. There are no rules as to how the case should be presented before that panel. An employer representative on the panel, together with the employer involved in the case, if they wanted to — and there were many cases they did want to — could have delayed and did delay the presenta-

tion of their cases and the presentation of reply briefs.

"In the Little Steel case, we started out in February presenting our case before a panel. We did not get the decision of that panel until some time in May, and we did not get the decision of the War Labor Board until some time in July."

Having presented this annihilating analysis of the run-around in the War Labor Board, Pressman hastened to say again:

"I must again emphasize that there is a danger that in understanding the weakness of the administrative procedure we may lead to criticizing the Board to such a degree that it will be interpreted to mean that we want the Board terminated. Nothing can be further from the truth."

For, as Pressman well knows, scrapping the Board could only mean a break with Roosevelt, and the revival of the union militancy which built the unions and won them everything they have. But the CIO leadership will not take this necessary road.

Pressman and the rest of the CIO officialdom pretend that the cause of the situation is "the weakness of the administrative procedure" of the Board. Only one delegate, Rieve, mentioned the fact that prevention of wage raises is the fixed policy of the War Labor Board.

"Frankly," said Rieve, a member of the Board, "I am of the opinion that since October 3, while wages have not been frozen, it will be more difficult to secure wage increases than it was prior to that date. Bear in mind that the President's order of October 3, says that the wage scales prevailing as of September 15 shall be considered as the proper wage scales."

ENFORCING AGREEMENTS

So much for the run-around in getting new agreements. Once a union gets them, how about enforcing them so that they do not become scraps of paper?

Speaking of the auto plants, R. J. Thomas of the UAW confessed what has happened since the unions surrendered the strike weapon:

"In many of these plants, collective bargaining has completely broken down. It has broken down due to the fact that even on grievances the management says to us, take it up to the War Labor Board. If our organization were to take all of our grievances to the War Labor Board, the Board would be doing nothing else but settling grievances. We

have in our industry some of the most vicious managements in this country, managements who are absolutely refusing to settle these grievances."

Similarly Walter Reuther of the UAW reported:

"Management refuses to move and the boys say, 'What are we going to do about it?' and management's answer time after time is: 'Take it to Washington.'"

"Take it to Washington." That is the employer's way of saying that, having surrendered the union's own weapons, the union is helpless, while the War Labor Board connives with the employers.

While the workers are thus unable to secure wage raises or get the employers to observe existing agreements, the workers' wage is being chopped down by rising prices and mounting taxes.

THE OPA AND PRICES

The question of rising prices was not discussed in the convention, but Murray's written report stated:

"Measures taken by the Office of Price Administration have not been sufficiently effective to prevent substantial and unwarranted increases in the cost of consumers goods comprising the major portion of the wage earner's living costs. OPA has raised established price ceilings without more than a superficial examination of the need or justification for such increases and with too little concern for consumer interest."

How does this happen in the government of "labor's friend," Roosevelt? Murray does not attempt to explain.

TAXES MEAN WAGE CUTS

The other method of gouging labor, taxes, was also not discussed in the convention, but Murray's written report states, concerning the measure signed by Roosevelt on Oct. 21:

"The 1942 tax measure will actually deprive the workers of the means to purchase sufficient necessities of life with which to maintain their strength and health. . . . The tax situation remains the first legislative problem of the CIO. Reactionary Congressional leaders have made very clear the fact that they are not yet finished with their vicious work. . . . The working men and women of America will recognize in 1943 that the Revenue Act passed this year has meant a nationwide wage cut which creates serious dangers to food budgets."

As in the case of rising prices, Murray ignores Roosevelt's responsibility for the tax bill he signed.

A GRIM PICTURE

Such, then, is the grim picture of the situation of the CIO membership after a year of war under Roosevelt's administration. No substantial growth in the organization; an actual lessening of its size in proportion to the size of the working class in the heavy industries; almost all wage raises now prevented by the War Labor Board; collective bargaining "broken down"; violation of agreements by the employer with the taunt, "Take us to Washington"; the workers' standard of living increasingly cut down by rising prices and higher taxes.

And, let the reader keep in mind, this is the picture only insofar as it is put together from the reluctant admissions of the CIO leadership which, committed to Roosevelt, tells as little as possible.

The whole story has yet to be told. The CIO leaders are quite conscious that they have been covering up the facts. At one point Walter Reuther blurted out: "I think the time has passed when we should protect these fellows down there in Washington who are doing a job on us." But Reuther only meant the big businessmen in WPB. He is still covering up for Roosevelt.

Harry Bridges is still covering up, not only for Roosevelt but

also for the big businessmen. Said Bridges:

"I would even hesitate before this convention to relate a lot of the things that we know are happening in the industry. I am afraid it would furnish too much ammunition for appeaser forces." By "appeasers" Bridges means anybody in the labor movement who opposes his surrender policy.

THEIR WORDS DAMN THEIR OWN POLICY

The whole story, then, would be far worse than what was grudgingly revealed by the CIO leadership. But they told enough to damn their policy of subordinating the labor movement to the Roosevelt administration.

At the Detroit convention of the CIO last year, when only the first effects of Roosevelt's wartime policy were being felt, Murray addressed this servile appeal to the government:

"And to you, Mr. President, I ask you in the spirit of justice, in the spirit of righteousness, to sit down and ponder just a little more than you have, the need of giving labor in America a chance."

A year ago Murray could thus pretend that Roosevelt needed to "ponder just a little more than you have." This year Murray dared not answer the question, what had been the result of Roosevelt's pondering.

Smug and conscienceless, leaders like Murray, Haywood Bittner, Thomas and Reuther, etc., have no compunctions about the effect of their surrender policy upon the workers. What is worrying them, however, is the specter of the coming days when the workers add up the score and move against the leaders who have betrayed them.

WHAT THE BUREAUCRATS WORRY ABOUT

Pressman, at one point, broke away from his prepared report on the War Labor Board, to say to the delegates:

"You know better than I do (Pressman is an appointee, they are elected) the problems you are going to have in the field (that is, from the workers) where the employees feel they are entitled to a wage increase now and they may have to wait six months before they get that wage increase."

And Walter Reuther warned his fellow-bureaucrats:

"There is a feeling on the part of many workers throughout the country in the various plants that the Labor Board machinery to date has not been adequate, and that the movement towards creating an adequate machinery has been too late in coming and ought to be pushed much more aggressively."

Or, more plainly, many workers throughout the country are beginning to understand that they are the victims of the unholy alliance of their elected leaders with the government and big business.

As the convention was closing, I looked down on many faces there, I am sure, for the last time. Before another CIO convention rolls around, there will be housecleaning in many of the unions. Too many of these gentlemen have been away from the shops too long. It is time to send them back to the bench again!

(Another article by Felix Morrow on the CIO Convention will appear in THE MILITANT next week.)

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

U. S. Soldiers Are Jim Crowed In Britain

On several occasions we have invited readers of this column to express their views here and to report important developments that have not come to our attention. We are sure that all our readers enjoyed the instructive column on the Russian Revolution by John Saunders printed here two weeks ago. Below we are presenting an article sent us by W. Miller on Jim Crow treatment of U. S. soldiers in Britain. We repeat that our request for communications from our readers is a standing offer.

Recently I got a letter from a friend in Britain, describing the imposition of Jim Crow practices on the unwilling British people and refuting the whitewash statements recently made by General B. O. Davis, who was sent to Britain by the Army brass hats here in an effort to put an end to the indignation of the Negroes in this country.

My friend points out that the British working class, the small shopkeepers, etc., have never been educated in the spirit of color discrimination. Imperialist Britain, ruling the millions of black and brown slaves of her crumbling Empire, has not found it economically necessary to introduce vicious race discrimination in the "mother country" because of the small number of Negroes there.

During the last half year the U. S. government has sent large numbers of troops to the British Isles. Among them were many Negro troops that started coming in June of this year. The British people were immediately very hospitable toward these American troops, and black and white to them were alike.

Imagine first, says my friend, the astonishment of the Negro troops, many of them southerners, when the British people treated them as equal men. They were invited to homes, introduced to British girls, welcomed in all pubs, and in general treated cordially and decently.

Imagine further, continues my friend, the anger of many U. S. officers and white soldiers at this disregard of U. S. "tradition." Numbers of white soldiers immediately became the self-appointed "guards" of British womanhood. Assaults on Negro soldiers, in dance halls and pubs

or out on dates with girls, became more numerous.

Soon after the arrival of Negro troops, the U. S. Army command asked the British government, the London Town Council, and through them the British population generally, to respect U. S. Jim Crow prejudices. These British government agencies officially immediately requested pubs, dance halls and hotels to comply with the U. S. Army Command requests.

Labor and independent Members of Parliament demanded to know of Churchill why the government was complying with the U. S. brass hats' requests. Churchill's hypocritical formula for compliance was that "The point of view of all concerned will be mutually understood and respected."

The proprietors of numerous pubs, where the average British workers often spend the evening over a pint of beer, refused to segregate Negro troops. However a number of them complied, and "colored troops—side entrance" became a standby at many pubs.

Dance hall owners under the pressure of certain white soldier elements, barred Negroes from dance halls. Many restaurants and hotels started practicing discrimination. British troops, my friend confirms, were told by their commanders to be "civil" toward Negro troops, but not to get too friendly.

At the institution of open discrimination, the resentment of the English people rose to a new high. Negro troops were more frequently stopped on the streets and asked to English homes for dinner. English girls more openly insisted on dating up Negro soldiers. Certain pubs resentfully put up signs reading "English and colored troops only invited." English soldiers openly consorted with Negroes. In many "white" pubs Englishmen could be heard stubbornly arguing with white soldiers who irrationally defended discrimination.

My friend ends his letter on a hopeful note. The British people may have to comply with Jim Crow practices—but they certainly hate these practices, he says. When they get the chance, they will show the world that unlike the British and American ruling classes, they believe in the true brotherhood of man.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The November issue of *Jewish Frontiers*, Zionist magazine, is devoted to eye-witness reports of the torture the Jewish people are suffering under Nazi occupation. These reports indicate that in their struggle against the Nazi heel, the peoples of the occupied countries are moved to sympathy with those Jews that remain, and even risk great danger to help them.

Of all the occupied countries, the masses of Holland seem to be most active in taking the part of the Jews. Their persecution by the Nazis led to a spontaneous strike on February 25 which "passed to all the large cities of Northern Holland and lasted for two days. . . . Martial law was proclaimed, and a curfew instituted from 7 P. M. Machine guns dispersed meetings held by the workmen of the city" (Amsterdam).

The strike was broken, the arrested Jews were not released; no one knows what happened to them.

Joint struggle against a common enemy has likewise broken

down the traditional antagonism between the Poles and the Czechs in the Cieszyn district of Silesia, where guerrilla warfare is being waged jointly by Poles and Czechs, according to the magazine *Poland Fights*.

"A curfew has been imposed on a great part of the working class Nationalist area of Western Belfast with 50,000 population. No one is allowed out from 8:30 P. M. to 6 A. M. without a permit," the *British New Leader* reports.

From San Juan, in the American colony of Puerto Rico, comes news that "the battle for rice continues to be Puerto Rico's most strenuous war activity, with police guarding stores where new shipments are on sale to prevent disorder, wrecking property and panic. Nearly a thousands persons lined one street half an hour after rice was put on sale. . . ."

"The island's daily meal for all classes in normal times is rice and red kidney beans, both boiled." (*N. Y. Times*, Nov. 13).

Such are the blessings of American imperialism.

Persecuted Worker Appeals for Funds to Sue State

Howard Carwile, an ex-sharecropper and organizer of agricultural workers, was the victim of a series of tortures which sound like something out of the dark ages.

After fighting for years in his home state of Virginia for the end of farm landlordism, he fell sick with tuberculosis and was sent to the charity ward of the Blue Ridge Sanatorium, a state institution. From the day Carwile entered until the day he left — eleven months — he was the victim of a scheme of torture and revenge inspired by hatred of his organizational activities.

With poor eyes, he was forced to read in semi-darkness. This

resulted in a hemorrhage of the left eye. A nurse willfully scalded the eye when examining it, and boasted of the act.

He was then forced to lie directly under a powerful light which further injured his eye. He was berated and attacked by drunken attendants. Gasoline torches were lit in his room, filling it with acrid, eye-searing smoke. On the hottest days the furnace was lit and steam pumped into his tiny room after the window and door had been shut.

Carwile finally escaped from his tortures, half-blind and still suffering from tuberculosis. He attempted to sue the State of Virginia, but the State hid behind the statute which forbids a citi-

The French Masses And The U. S. Political Maneuvers

By A. ROLAND

The invasion of North Africa has created a ticklish political situation for the administration. Which of the various military figures involved on the French side shall be recognized as "representing France?"

There is de Gaulle, long recognized as the leader of the "fighting French." Then there is the newcomer, Giraud, the man who knows how to escape from German prisons. But also there is Darlan, the collaborationist Admiral whose orders ended armed resistance to the American and English invaders of French Morocco and Algeria.

The manner in which the United States is handling the question of relations is of the greatest interest to workers. It tends to reveal beyond the shadow of a doubt the shoddy nature of the war propaganda. The basic aims of the war, one would correctly think, cannot be forgotten or laid aside the moment a situation presents itself that involves an immediate interest or advantage.

If the war were really a war for democracy and against fascism, the question of recognition of Darlan could not have risen for one moment. Here is one of the handful of figures, including Laval and Petain, that was ready to sacrifice France to fascism for his own personal advantage.

The American press has felt its style cramped in explaining the treatment of and the treating with Darlan. The explanations made through and for the State Department have aroused to protest even such ardent supporters of the war as Dorothy Thompson.

Hull, that idealist among diplomats, had suddenly to forget his role and to blurt out the truth. His negotiations with Vichy in the past were coldly calculated to mislead the Vichy regime while the United States was preparing to take over the French colonies. Hull, in short, played the same kind of part that he so virtuously denounced in the case of the infamous Kurosaki.

NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE

But that did not end American "opportunism." The public is informed in the "inspired" articles of the kept correspondents that the United States representatives will continue to negotiate with Darlan so long as it is felt that some material advantage may be gained by doing so.

The question of recognition boils down to one of pure American capitalist self-interest. It is not French democracy that interests Roosevelt and Hull. It is the question of power in France, the question of which of the "leaders" who present themselves as ready to "cooperate" can command the obedience of the French masses, or even of the French military forces.

The short interval between the invasion of North Africa and the counter-invasion by Hitler of unoccupied France, gave the clearest kind of evidence that, had Petain come over to the Allied side, had he fled France and called on Frenchmen to resist the invader, he could easily have gained the full support of the Allies.

It made equally clear that had Darlan's radioed to the French navy to leave Toulon and go to Gibraltar or North Africa to join the Allied naval forces, been obeyed — then Darlan would today be the leader of the "fighting French." Only when it became clear that the navy had not listened to Darlan, but had remained at its French base, did there arise some distinct cooling-off towards the infamous Admiral.

DARLAN'S STATUS

His status is now uncertain and remains to be clarified. What this means is that the United States will await further develop-



A view of the harbors of Algiers, French Algeria, which surrendered to the "United Nations" after United States Army troops had effected a landing. The Algerian masses, however, have still not got a taste of any Four Freedoms. They were enslaved before U. S. forces landed — they are still enslaved today. (Fed. Picts.)

ments which will help to clarify what its attitude towards Darlan should be. Meantime it can once more assume its cloak of virtue by presenting its attitude as one of disinterest and a desire not to interfere in internal French affairs. Nobody will be misled by this pose, least of all the principals involved on the French side.

The Allies have been in an unenviable position with respect to

France and with regard to propaganda aimed at the French masses. All the figures who have been played up as representatives of France have been tainted figures.

De Gaulle and Giraud, no less and no more personally ambitious than Darlan, are too well known to the French masses to arouse their enthusiasm. These generals are as much friends

of democracy as Hitler is of the Jews.

Their appeals to Frenchmen in the name of democracy, far from drawing the French people closer to the Allied cause, have served rather to discredit that cause. The reaction of the masses was one of apathy, of disillusion. The workers of France are too deeply interested in regaining their democratic rights, to have their cause mocked in this fashion.

The reaction must have been the same among French sailors when, after the history of Darlan in the Vichy regime, they were suddenly called upon by him to sail the fleet out of Toulon and to fight — for what?

The sailors are undoubtedly willing to fight Nazism and all that it means. But under whose leadership and by what methods? To the sailors Nazism includes — Darlan! The Allies therefore merely showed ineptitude when they broadcast the appeal from Darlan. An appeal in their own name directed against Darlan and his ilk would have been far more effective.

AIM OF "UNITED NATIONS"

But there is the rub. The Allied Nations would like to see French unity in the struggle against Hitler. Such unity means to Roosevelt and Hull that the French masses should follow some ruling class figure — whether De Gaulle, Giraud or Darlan is quite immaterial to them.

Such unity is no longer possible. It did not exist in the revolutionary period that preceded the war, and the defeat in the war widened the gulf between the ruling class and the masses into a veritable chasm.

The Allies might achieve unity among the French masses by appealing to the toilers over the heads of and against the ruling class. Such a revolutionary appeal is absolutely unthinkable on the part of the capitalist democracies. For that would really violate the basic aims of the United States in the war.

These aims are to maintain and extend the power of American capitalism, which means above all to preserve the world system of capitalism. On that basis French unity can no longer be achieved.

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We Support All Tendencies To Independent Labor Politics

By M. MORRISON

Shachtman's article in *Labor Action* of Nov. 9, attacking the policy of the Socialist Workers Party in giving critical support to the American Labor Party in the election for the governorship of New York, indicates clearly that he does not in reality understand the basic approach of a revolutionary Marxist party to the problem of a labor party. He has accepted the tactic of favoring independent political action on the part of the working class, but it is an acceptance in words only.

This lack of understanding is best illustrated by his assertion that the S.W.P. didn't "have the courage to come forward with the flat declaration — 'Vote for Alfange, representative of the idea of independent working class political action.'" It is obvious, from this assertion, that with Shachtman the determining factor as to whether or not to give support to a labor party is the ideas and intentions of the candidate running on the labor party ticket.

We, of course, made no such appeal to the workers, not only because we knew that Alfange does not represent the idea of independent political action on the part of the workers but because we do not consider the character of the candidate, his ideas and motives as factors of great importance in deciding whether or not to support the ALP.

In the present stage of the political development of the American working class we are not confronted with the problem of supporting a labor party but rather of helping the movement for the creation of a labor party. Even the ALP is only the beginning of a labor party on a national scale.

At a time when the vast majority of the working masses support a capitalist party, the organization of a labor party would constitute a step extremely progressive in character. A Marxist party is obligated to encourage and support every step in the direction of independent political action on the part of the workers, no matter how hesitating and weak that step may be.

When Shachtman enumerates the conditions under which a revolutionary party should support a labor party, he comes fairly close to being formally correct. The general tenor of his article, however, and the specific demand that the candidate of the labor party must consciously represent the idea of independent political action negate the more or less correct general principles which he enunciates. That is why it is correct to say that Shachtman fails to grasp the real meaning of the problem confronting a revolutionary party with respect to supporting the movement for the creation of a labor party.

Shachtman proceeds to tell us how rotten the leaders of the American Labor Party really are. It was only because of the fight between Farley and Roosevelt that they decided to run a candidate. In fact the very idea of running an independent candidate was, according to Shachtman, a Machiavellian maneuver on the part of Roosevelt.

The fact that Hillman, who, of all the labor fakers, is closest to the President, came out against supporting the American Labor Party, is almost conclusive evidence that Roosevelt was serious in urging everybody to vote for Farley's candidate. This factor, however, is of no importance and can be disregarded altogether. We can even grant Shachtman's premise of a Roosevelt maneuver without affecting the argument in any way whatever.

For a revolutionary Marxist the immediate reason motivating leaders of organized labor in launching upon a course of independent political action is of no importance. The American Labor Party was originally organized for the purpose of mobilizing the radical workers to support Roosevelt. But this did not prevent realistic Marxists from supporting candidates of the ALP if they were not also candidates of any capitalist party.

We do not expect conservative labor leaders to organize a labor party because they have studied our theories and have come to the conclusion that independent political action is to be preferred to supporting capitalist parties. We can say that the basic reason for the organization of a labor party in this country will be the necessity for the workers to defend their class interests during

the period of the decline of capitalism. But it is impossible to forestall the immediate cause impelling some labor leaders to accept the idea of independent political action.

It may well be that a struggle within the Democratic Party and the victory of the most reactionary section of that party will be the immediate cause for the organization of a labor party on a national scale. Would we refuse therefore to support such a party? Merely to ask the question is to answer it.

If a substantial section of organized labor constitutes the basis of a labor party and if it presents candidates in opposition to capitalist parties, a revolutionary party without any substantial following among the workers is obligated to support such a party if for no other reason than to encourage the workers in tearing themselves away from the capitalist parties.

On a local scale the American Labor Party has substantial backing from organized labor. The more than 400,000 votes which it polled at the last election came largely from the organized workers. No one claims it is an ideal labor party. Alas, the labor movement does not begin with perfect organizations. Through painful struggles and devious paths does it achieve independence of organization and clarity of program.

Shachtman made no attempt to analyze the basic objective factors which Marxists should take into consideration in arriving at a decision whether or not to support the ALP. His arguments dealt exclusively with the motives of the leaders and the character of the candidate. It is very significant that in all the differences between us and the followers of Shachtman in the recent past, beginning with the struggle involving our attitude to the Soviet Union at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact, the arguments presented by the Shachtmanites involved the motives of leaders. Stalin is an imperialist; Chiang Kai-shek has betrayed the colonial people; the leaders of the American Labor Party are tools of Roosevelt. To base oneself on the motives of individuals is completely foreign to Marxism.

From the fundamental aspect of supporting every tendency towards independent political action on the part of the working class, the question of the character of the candidate and the nature of the program of the American Labor Party are of third-rate importance. The S.W.P. supports a labor party on its own program and not on the program of the labor party. Shachtman makes no point about the nature of the program of the American Labor Party, but he does make quite a point about the infinitely less important question of the character of Alfange.

The ALP candidate for governor was an unknown Tammany politician. That is correct, although it is quite probable that personally he is more honest than many a labor leader. But we are not supporting the candidate; we are supporting the movement for independent workingclass political action. It would be better if the candidate consciously represented that idea and that movement. We may regret that Shachtman was not the candidate, but since for us the character of the candidate is not of overwhelming importance, we were not influenced by that factor.

The statement issued by our party explaining our support of the American Labor Party could not possibly be misinterpreted. Our opinion of the leadership of the ALP, of the candidate and of the program is clearly and simply expressed. Our basic reason for supporting the ALP can not be misunderstood. We are perfectly willing to let the class-conscious workers decide between our party taking advantage of every opportunity to support the formation of an independent labor party and the Shachtmanites who stand aloof on the side lines and tell them what terrible leaders they have.

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THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People.

VOL. VI—No. 47 Saturday, Nov. 21, 1942

Published Weekly by
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSN.
48 110 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editor:
GEORGE BREITMAN

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Single copies: 5 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 4 cents.

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6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Stop The Filibuster!

In Washington this week there was being staged an extremely shameful and yet instructive spectacle of the kind the nation has not witnessed for four years now—a full dress filibuster to prevent action on a legislative measure which undoubtedly has the approval of the overwhelming majority of people who are acquainted with it.

In 1938 the filibuster was successfully employed to prevent the U. S. Senate from taking a vote on a bill providing punishment for lynchings. Under popular pressure the House of Representatives had passed the bill, and a minority of the Senate fought it out to keep the bill from being acted on one way or another in the upper house.

At that time the poll tax Senator from South Carolina, James F. Byrnes, who has since been elevated to the U. S. Supreme Court and the post of national war-time economic dictator, informed James Roosevelt that he could tell his father that the anti-lynch bill would not come to a vote until the year 2038.

The strategy of the current filibuster—directed against a bill to abolish the poll tax laws of eight southern states which disfranchise 10 million people and result in the steady election and reelection of the nation's worst labor-baiters—is more limited than that of 1938. The House has passed an anti-poll tax bill, and the filibuster is intended only to hold off a vote on the issue until January of next year.

With the Southern Democrats holding the bal-

ance of power in the new Congress, and able to win greater concessions than ever before from both capitalist parties, the poll taxers know that to delay passage of the bill until January is equivalent to delaying it for at least another two years.

For a week now, the Senate has been the scene of parliamentary skulduggery that has prevented even a vote on the question of whether the bill should be formally placed before the Senate. At the present rate the bill will never be voted on this year.

The chief responsibility for this cynical disregard of the people's wishes lies on a minority of the Senate's members. But part of the responsibility for the filibuster must be laid on others—on the leaders of the Republican and Democratic Parties, who can, if they really want to, put an end to the filibuster once the bill reaches the floor of the Senate.

All that is required is closure, a motion to close the debate that requires two-thirds of the Senate's vote. Between them the Republicans and the non-southern Democrats have the necessary votes.

The bill is as good as dead now, unless an indignant working class makes its pressure felt in Washington. This should become the first point on the agenda of every workers' organization in the country.

The Four Freedoms In Algeria

Events are moving rapidly in French Africa. Immediately upon the heels of their "smashing successes" against the French, the U. S. Command launched punitive campaigns against the Arabs in Algeria. In the *N. Y. Times* of Nov. 16 Frank L. Kluckhohn reveals that the American troops, along with their new Vichy allies, raided a village near Oran. The purpose of the raid was to disarm the Arabs "who have been picking them (guns) up in the confusion around the recent battlefields" and using them to snipe at both the American and French.

This news indicates a rapid deterioration in the relationship between the American forces and the natives who had, at first, hailed their arrival.

Only last month Roosevelt said that the Atlantic Charter applied to the entire world. This statement is now revealed as pure demagoguery.

Before conquering a territory, the propagandists of the "United Nations" assure the people that they will drive out the fascist oppressors and bring the blessings of the Four Freedoms. After conquering a territory, however, the application of the Four Freedoms is not only shelved, but in the case of Africa and Darlan, the fascists aren't even driven out.

When the American forces marched through Morocco they were cheered by the majority of the natives. They cheered because they knew Darlan and his rule, and they thought the Americans would bring them something better. The natives now find that Darlan is also cheering the American armies. When the slaves and the master both hail the same conqueror, one of them is usually mistaken. Those natives who have been shot at and disarmed know that it was not Darlan who made the mistake.

The contrast between the "democratic principles" enunciated by Roosevelt, and his open-armed welcome of Darlan, has bewildered the "Fighting French" who had dreams of great plunder out of the Allied successes. They are being assured quietly, however, that Roosevelt is cleverly "using" Darlan and will discard him after the fate of the French fleet and Tunisia has been decided.

It is true that Roosevelt will "use" Darlan only so long as he is of any value. This is equally true of the President's attitude toward de Gaulle.

Whether Roosevelt finally decides to employ the fascist Darlan or the monarchist de Gaulle, his own aims remain the same and the plight of the Arabs will be unaltered.

The first real victory of the "United Nations" has resulted in the rescue of the French African Empire—not in the rescue of the colonial peoples involved.

Lawyer Presents Case For Trotsky's Assassin

By WALTER ROURKE

Sentence Should Be Announced Within Next Few Weeks

MEXICO, D.F., Nov. 7. (By Mail) — On the last day possible, Jacobson's lawyer presented the conclusions for the defense in the trial of Trotsky's murder. These conclusions were presented only after every legal possibility to drag out and belabor the case had been exhausted. They themselves attest to the fact that the GPU is desirous of avoiding a discussion on the merits of the case as long as possible.

One would have expected conclusions of some length since the defense had set itself the task of trying to prove that Jacobson was "provoked" into murdering Trotsky. The prosecution's conclusions, for instance, cover some 70 pages. But the points submitted in Jacobson's defense fill about one-half a typewritten page! No analysis or reasoning is given, the conclusions consisting of a list of six points.

"My client committed the crime of simple homicide," writes Medellin Ostos, Jacobson's lawyer, adding that, "In the case there exists external circumstances of incitement and the special circumstances of the accused that should be taken very much into consideration."

GPU'S CONTENTIONS

This no doubt refers to the Stalinist contention that Jacobson was "disillusioned" with Trotsky and in desperation resolved to kill him. Aside from its falseness, it is difficult to understand how this could affect the legal merits of the case where the important question is one of premeditation.

betrayal of confidence, etc. — the so-called "califications."

It is in relation to these "califications" that Ostos denies simple homicide on the part of his client. For Mexican law recognizes various degrees of homicide, the least serious being simple homicide — which receives the lightest punishment.

Jacobson, however, has all the "califications" against him: premeditation — he admitted having planned the murder days in advance; betrayal of confidence — his victim did not suspect murderous intentions on his part; advantage — Jacobson struck from behind against a victim that was in no position to defend himself.

It is true, of course, that in his last written statement, Jacobson attempted to paint a picture of

Trotsky's provoking him with insults and of a physical struggle preceding the murder blow in which Trotsky, says Jacobson, reached for his revolver.

But since this is contrary to all his previous statements and since no proof was presented to show that the previous statements were false and made under duress, this rectification, made also at the last possible moment to prevent contravening evidence from being presented, has no legal value — not to mention its lack of basis in fact and logic.

OSTOS' STRATEGY

Thus Jacobson's attorney, Medellin Ostos, finds himself defending a criminal with all the facts, the legal advantages and moral sentiments against him. His arguments to prove simple homicide will of necessity be extremely weak and he hopes by waiting until the hearing before the court — usually the occasion for answering the opponents' arguments orally, that he will have at least the advantage of surprise.

This is highly improbable; his possible arguments are limited by the evidence in the court record and by the political necessities of defending a GPU assassin. His verbal defense of Jacobson before the court will be met with capable refutation by Natalia Trotsky's legal representative as well as by the prosecution.

This hearing before a court of three judges will take place in approximately 15 days. After that there remains only the decision of the judges and the sentencing.

Profits Come First

"Textile men expressed surprise last week when it was reported that approximately 100,000 pounds of British lisle yarns made of Egyptian long-staple cotton, regarded as vital war material for balloon and flare cloth, had been released quietly by the WPB to lace manufacturers in this country."

From *N. Y. Times*, Nov. 15. Surprise is a mild word substituted by the *Times* editor for what the textile men really said. They had been trying to get the WPB to quietly release the lisle to themselves for women's hose.

The Workers' Bookshelf

LAST TRAIN FROM BERLIN by Howard K. Smith. Alfred A. Knopf, 1942. \$2.75.

Any information that seeps through the guarded borders of Germany concerning conditions within the Reich since the outbreak of war is avidly received. Especially welcome is a report confirming the opinion that the German workers and soldiers, pressed by the burden of war, are moving in the direction of revolt. This hopeful estimate is the conclusion reached in Howard K. Smith's "Last Train From Berlin," a book meriting a careful reading.

The author, who left Germany on December 7, 1941, states as his main thesis that by the winter of 1941 at least 90% of the German people were in passive opposition to Hitler. The main obstacle to their passage to active and organized opposition is their fear of a second Versailles Treaty in the event of a German defeat. But despite this fear of the Allies, the grumbling in the underground of Germany is becoming more audible.

Economic And Political Conditions

In support of his conclusion Smith reports on the economic and political conditions within the Reich since the outbreak of war and especially during the period following the beginning of the Russian hostilities. Despite victories that created an impression of invincibility and powerful unification, the picture of internal Germany is one of want, suffering and breakdown.

The author estimates that five months of the Russian war cost the German people four-fifths of their weekly meat ration. This campaign was accompanied by a similar decline in all other foodstuffs and a growth in the use of unpalatable and non-nutritious ersatz foods. A serious housing shortage developed; buildings deteriorated for lack of supplies for maintenance; transportation became difficult; the health of the German civilian, working in factories ten to twelve hours a day, sustained on foods deficient in vitamins, rapidly deteriorated. The author quotes his dentist on the decay of teeth: "They are decaying all at once almost like cubes of sugar dissolving in water."

This growing privation is not suffered by all the German people. The industrial and financial capitalists are amassing vast wealth. Profits are sky-rocketing. Taxes are high, but not sufficient to make a deep dent in the piling profits. Record-breaking peaks for annual profits have been reached. The workers are not unaware of the gap between the Nazi promise of the destruction of capitalism and the reality of the enriched capitalists.

The morale of the people fell sharply on the outbreak of the Soviet war and the victories on the Eastern front did little to flag the lowering morale. The people had grasped at the hope of the end of the war after the fall of France, but the start of new battles in the East crushed this hope. The author declares that only a decisive German victory tending to bring an end to the war could raise them from their despondency.

Hitler is well aware of the growing loss of his support at home. In August, 1941 he virtually banned the Brown Army, the storm trooper mass base organization of the Nazis. Their newspaper, the *S. A. Mann*, no longer appears; their meetings were halted. He reports many rumors were afloat that several of the locals of the Brown Army had changed their color from Brown to Red. Hitler fears his former supporters.

The most concrete and dramatic clue to Hitler's concern was his move to fortify buildings as

Gestapo arsenals in the residential centers of the main German cities.

Smith examines what he considers the three main seeds of organized opposition to the Nazis. The Catholic church, the Regular Army Officers, and the communists. Of special interest is his report on the communist movement.

He estimates that prior to his departure there were about 2000 organized party members functioning, supported by a much larger periphery of sympathizers. German communist and anti-Nazi slogans were appearing more and more frequently on the fences and walls of Berlin. Leaflets were distributed in blackouts. He knew of at least two saloons in Berlin where patrons exhibited the clenched fist salute.

Unfortunately there is no word in the book about the program or affiliation of this German communist movement. Smith does point out that the Third International has not issued directives to the German party. He attributes this to their lack of confidence in the ability of the Germans to create revolt.

It is undoubtedly true that Stalin has no confidence in the German revolution. But the existence of 2,000 organized communists after ten years of Gestapo persecution and torture indicates that the German socialists do not share Stalin's cynicism. The German revolution is far from dead.

How To Arouse German Revolution?

The book concludes with the author's prescription for convincing the German people that a defeat by the Allies does not mean for them a second Versailles. "One of the best ways," he states "if not the best way of all, to defeat Hitler is to make our war aims, our blue-print for a new world, known as definitely and clearly as possible to our own people, to the German people and to the world right now!"

"Real proof of our democratic intent, like the nationalization of the mines, the socialization of the munitions and heavy industries; the banishment of privilege, the placing of less developed colonies under a truly international mandate—not a British or an American mandate—would convince Germany and our own people we are fighting a true war to make the world safe for democracy."

Smith's experience with the developments within Germany has led him close to the real method of defeating Hitler; foster and aid the German revolution by creating real democracy at home. Unfortunately he addresses the wrong audience.

What section of the Allies can effectuate this proof of good intentions? Capitalist England, slave master of India? United States, Big Business, with its record of Negro discrimination, attacks on civil liberties and labor's rights? These governments can sanctimoniously show "good intentions" by "giving up" extra-territorial rights to Chinese territory now in the hands of the Japanese army. But democracy like charity starts at home.

Real democracy will not be instituted by these regimes. This task, this method of aiding the German revolution, is reserved only for the workers of the world. Yes, we must convince the German workers and soldiers that there is an alternative to both continued fascist rule and the terrible yoke of a second Versailles treaty. But this alternative can only be the Socialist United States of Europe. This is the banner for the oppressed and embattled workers of Europe, the only alternative that will mean lasting peace.

—Reviewed by MARK KNIGHT

And They Call It A 'War For Democracy'!

"When the devil was sick—
The devil a monk would be;
When the devil was well—
The devil a monk was he!"
That's how it is with Churchill!

When the British Empire was rocking on its heels and British imperial troops were being pounded and hacked from Dunkirk to Singapore, from Narvik to Tobruk, Churchill's speeches were all sweetness and light. He was the very apostle of democracy and his orations rang with the lofty eloquence of one who would release all humanity from bondage.

The British Empire? Why, it is nothing but a free commonwealth of nations.

India? A veritable paradise of self government which soon would realize the honeyed promise of complete independence.

Then the high and mighty British imperialists were on the downgrade and throughout the Far East the Empire was falling into rival hands; its weaknesses were emboldening the Indian and other subject peoples to strike out for themselves. Lacking military victories, Churchill laded out the rhetoric and attempted to fill in with talk the wide breaches of military inferiority—all the while hoping that time would bring a change in the fortunes of war that would enable him to speak more candidly and bluntly.

Now as the British imperialists exult in their first triumph over their German rivals in Africa, Churchill gives the world a foretaste of what to expect if and when the British imperialists win the war. He declares to the British parliament:

"I have not come to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

Senator Pepper is outraged and says that Churchill would not dare look a dying soldier or sailor in the face and tell him this.

Yes, indeed. It was a grave indiscretion on the part of Churchill; it violates all the rules of capitalist warfare to tell the rank and file soldier what he is fighting and dying for. Nevertheless, with all deference to the Senator's injured feelings, Churchill was telling the unvarnished truth.

British imperialism has no intention of voluntarily abandoning her colonies to the people who inhabit them—nor of making a gift of them to her American "partners." So long as the Empire has arms in hand, it will fight to the death to preserve its plunder. And with each victory it will grow more arrogant in its warnings to "trespassers" to keep off its property.

But Churchill's speech is a little premature. His major battles are still before him. Whipping Hitler's European army is a task not even commenced—and it will not be easy to pull off. But even if he accomplishes that, at the cost of thousands of lives, he will still be faced with the revolt of his colonial slaves.

When these hundreds of millions of the world's most oppressed people throw their forces into the field it will be immaterial who "presides over the liquidation of the Empire."

Both Imperialist Camps Fight Among Themselves

By JOHN BATES

Reports have trickled out of the Balkans that Hitler's allies, Hungary and Rumania, are at it again. Two weeks ago their troops clashed on the "new" Transylvanian frontier. Details are lacking, but it is obvious that the Rumanian capitalists want back some of the territory which was transferred to Hungary by Hitler two years ago.

The Axis' grandiose plans in Africa and the Soviet Union hold less interest for the Hungarian and Rumanian bosses than a little strip of land in the center of the Balkans. Victory for Hitler in the Soviet Union would mean profits for the German bosses primarily. The Rumanian and Hungarian bosses must scramble for their own plunder, even if it means fighting each other.

Nor is the Axis the sole victim of such internal rivalries. This week Canadian and United States business interests were in a full blown dispute over the domestic market for peanuts!

According to *N. Y. Times'* correspondent, P. J. Philip, American capitalists are threatening to reduce munition purchases in Canada unless the Canadians "accept desirable non-military goods from this country," namely peanuts.

"The Canadians cannot quite see," writes Philip, "why they should have to limit the export of their unlimited forest products to win the war and at the same time risk going into debt to help in the disposal of the unlimited supply of their neighbors' peanuts."

Of course the United States and Canada are not at present using military tactics in the dispute, as are Hungary and Rumania. But that doesn't mean the conflict isn't serious. All conflicts are serious for the capitalists when profits are concerned.

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

by James P. Cannon

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